

L. Gipin.

A

H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

From their first Rise to the present Time.

Compiled from AUTHENTIC RECORDS, and
from the WRITINGS of that PEOPLE.

By JOHN GOUGH.

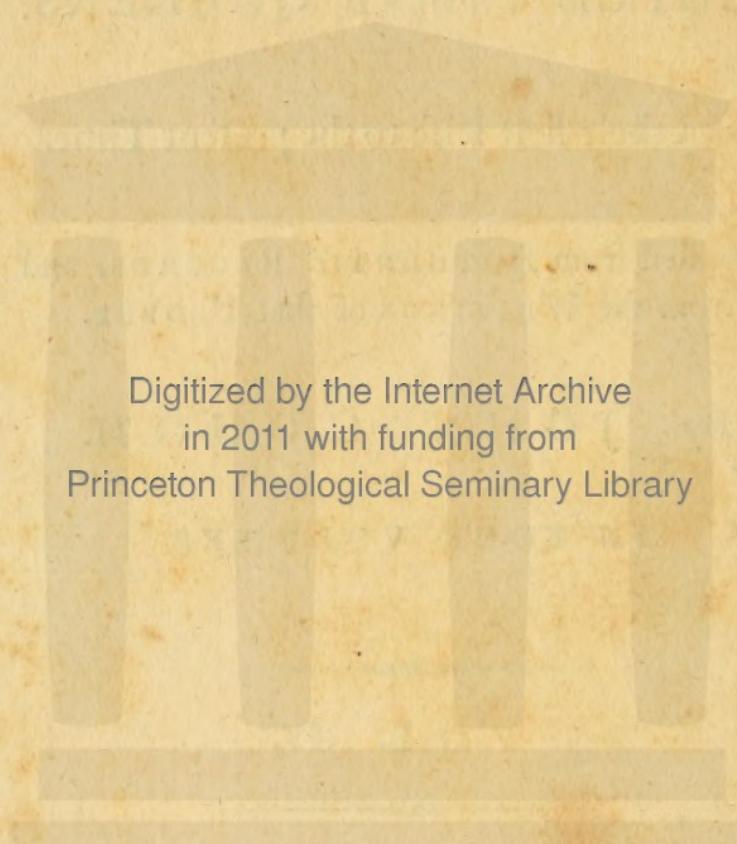
IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

B O O K VI.

C H A P. XIV.

Queen Anne ascends the Throne.—Addresses to her.—She declares her Resolution to maintain the Toleration.—Second Address.—Account of Margaret Fox.—G. Keith sent a Missionary to America.—Account of Ambrose Rigge.—His Epistle of Advice.

ANNE, the second daughter of King James, C H A P. who was married to Prince George of Denmark, xiv. succeeded to the throne by virtue of the act of settlement. Addresses of congratulation were made to her from all quarters upon her accession. The people called Quakers thought themselves no less than others called upon to condole the king's death, and testify their fidelity to the new sovereign. They accordingly drew up an address, and deputed George Whitehead

1702.
Q. Anne
ascends the
throne.

CHAP. and some other friends to present it, who being
 XIV. introduced by the Duke of Ormond and the
 ~~~~~ Earl of Marlborough, read her the follow-  
 1702. ing:

“ To Queen Anne, over England, &c.

“ May it please the Queen,

Address to  
her.

“ We thy peaceable subjects cannot but be  
 “ sorrowfully affected with a deep sense of the  
 “ loss sustained by the death of our late King  
 “ William the third, whom God made the in-  
 “ strument of much good to these nations; a  
 “ prince who indeed desired to be a father of  
 “ his people, and as such did by his great ex-  
 “ ample as well as precept, endeavour to unite  
 “ them in interest and affection, and promoted  
 “ and confirmed a legal liberty to tender con-  
 “ sciences, by all which his reign was adorned,  
 “ to the renown of his memory.”

“ And it having pleased the all-wise God,  
 “ the disposer of kingdoms, to preserve thee  
 “ to succeed to the government of these na-  
 “ tions, and thereby to the maintaining and  
 “ consummating those great works so happily  
 “ begun, we humbly beg leave to congratulate  
 “ thy free and peaceable accession to the throne,  
 “ from whence we observe the Queen’s excel-  
 “ lent declaration, manifesting her care for the  
 “ good of all her people, and therefore doubt  
 “ not but we her protestant dissenting subjects  
 “ shall partake of her royal favour and pro-  
 “ tection.

“ We sincerely declare, that with the assis-  
 “ tance of the grace of God we will always,  
 “ according to our christian duty, demonstrate

“ our

“ our good affection, truth and fidelity to the C H A P. .  
 “ Queen and her government, and heartily XIV.  
 “ pray that his wisdom may direct, and his  
 “ blessing be upon the Queen and her great  
 “ council, to the suppressing of vice and im-  
 “ morality, and the promoting of piety, peace  
 “ and charity, to the glory of God, and the  
 “ benefit of these nations.

“ May the King of Kings make thy reign  
 “ long and glorious, to which temporal blef-  
 “ sing we shall pray for thy eternal happi-  
 “ ness.

“ Signed on behalf and by the appointment  
 “ of the aforesaid people at a meeting in  
 “ London the 10th of 2d month 1702.”

This address was very favourably received by the Queen, who, upon its being read to her, answered :

“ I thank you for your address, and I assure  
 “ you of my protection.”

The Queen having afterwards publickly de-  
 clared her resolution to maintain the act of tol-  
 eration in favour of dissenters, friends at their  
 succeeding yearly meeting in London thought it  
 proper to wait upon her with an address of  
 thanks for her said declaration, and the follow-  
 ing address was drawn up by said meeting,  
 and presented to her by a deputation of suitable  
 friends :

The Queen  
 declares her  
 resolution  
 to maintain  
 the tolera-  
 tion.

“ To

C H A P.

xiv.

“ To Queen Anne, over England, &amp;c.

1702.

“ The humble and thankful acknowledgment  
 “ of the people commonly called Quakers,  
 “ from their yearly meeting in London, the  
 “ 30th day of the third month called May,  
 “ 1702.

“ May it please the Queen,

Second ad-  
dress to the  
Queen.

“ We thy peaceable and dutiful subjects,  
 “ met from most parts of thy dominions, at  
 “ our usual yearly meeting (for the promotion  
 “ of piety and charity), being deeply affected  
 “ with thy free and noble resolution in thy late  
 “ speech at the prorogation of the parliament,  
 “ to preserve and maintain the act of toleration,  
 “ for the ease and quiet of all thy people,  
 “ could not but in gratitude esteem ourselves  
 “ engaged, both to thank Almighty God for  
 “ that favourable influence, and to renew and  
 “ render our humble and hearty acknowledg-  
 “ ments to the Queen for the same, assuring  
 “ her (on behalf of all our friends) of our  
 “ sincere affection and christian obedience.

“ And we beseech God, the fountain of wis-  
 “ dom and goodness, so to direct all thy coun-  
 “ fels and undertakings, that righteousness  
 “ which exalts a nation, and mercy and justice  
 “ that establish a throne, may be the character  
 “ of thy reign, and the blessings of these king-  
 “ doms under it.

“ Signed by appointment and on behalf  
 .“ of the said meeting.”

Of

Of those who presented this address, William C H A P. Penn was the deliverer, and the Queen was XIV. pleased to speak to him in a very kind manner, ~~and~~<sup>1702.</sup> and not only received the said address favourably, but after it was read to her, she was pleased to give the following answer :

“ Mr. Penn, I am so well pleased that what  
“ I have said is to your satisfaction, that you  
“ and your friends may be assured of my pro-  
“ tection.”

This year died Margaret, the widow of George Fox, being in or about the 87th year of her age. She was the daughter of John Askew of Marsh Grange in the parish of Dalton in Lancashire, a gentleman of an antient family and good estate, and conspicuous for piety and charity. His daughter Margaret was religiously inclined from her tender years, and was married before she attained the age of eighteen years to Thomas Fell, who being bred a lawyer, was made a justice of peace, was a member in several parliaments, appointed vice-chancellor of the county of Lancaster, and after some time a Welch judge, in which stations he acquitted himself with honour, being in reputation for wisdom, justice, moderation and mercy. He deceased in the year 1658, having been married twenty-six years, and left behind him a son and seven daughters. We have seen the means used to exasperate him against the Quakers (so called) on account of the convincement of his wife and most of his family in his absence, and the anxiety he conceived on that account; but when he came home, the discreet and obliging behaviour

Account of  
Margaret  
Fox.

CHAP. behaviour of his wife, and George Fox's dis-  
xiv. course, dispelled the cloud, and opened his un-  
derstanding to perceive that the representation  
1702. he had received of this people was the effect of  
antipathy, and intended to prejudice him against  
them ; he therefore continued to treat his wife  
with his usual complacency and affection : and  
after he gave up his house for a meeting-place  
for her and her friends, he was not observed  
to give much attendance upon the public wor-  
ship, but when the meeting was kept in his  
hall, he generally sat in an adjoining room,  
where he could hear without appearing to join  
the friends in their worship ; and although he  
did not profess himself of their society, he af-  
forded them his protection against the malice of  
their enemies, as far as lay in his power.

The principal part of Margaret Fell's trans-  
actions, as a member of this society, have been  
already related in the course of this history ; her  
frequent applications to King Charles and others  
in favour of her suffering friends, (in which  
her indefatigable perseverance gave her suc-  
cess), she repeated at times to near the  
King's death. To her own sufferings we have  
only to add, that beside her premunire and im-  
prisonments, she was several times fined for  
preaching. After a widowhood of eleven years  
she was married to George Fox, and survived  
him about the same length of time. That she  
was a woman of good sense and true greatness  
of mind, is evident from her behaviour and de-  
fence on her trial for refusing to swear ; that  
she was a prudent mother and skilful manager  
of her family and domestic concerns appeared  
in the effects thereof in her daughters, who were  
all

all well married, honourable and well accomplished women: She was conspicuous for virtue in civil society, but this procured her no respect from those who could see no virtue without the pale of conformity; she was eminent for her rank and services in religious society, and therefore was distinguished by a peculiar severity of persecution; she was honourable in her life, and evidenced she was well prepared for her death by the excellent expressions she uttered near her conclusion.

George Keith, who had as yet by his conformity obtained no settlement in the church of England, but preached in different places as the bishops appointed him, was about this time sent as a missionary to America, having raised an expectation that he would bring over many of the Quakers and others to the church (so called;) his success will appear when we come in course to treat of the state of this society in America, for there we shall meet with him again.

In the year 1704, Ambrose Rigge of Ryegate in Surrey, departed this life. He was born at Banton in Westmoreland, and convinced of the principles of this society about the year 1652, and was thereupon rejected by his parents and relations. In some time after, he thought it his duty to appear as a minister amongst them, and travelled in the exercise of his ministry to London, and to the southern and western counties of England in or about the year 1655, in company with Thomas Robertson: Zealous for the promotion of the testimony of the truth, his sufferings for his testimony bore proportion to his zeal. His imprisonment with his companion Thomas Robertson at Basingstoke, in the course At Basing-  
of stoke.

CHAP. of that year, hath been already noticed. He  
XIV. was again imprisoned at Southampton in the  
1704. same year. In the year 1658, passing through  
<sup>2</sup> At South- these parts again, the impulse of christian duty  
ampton. incited him to visit his friends in prison there,  
and for this office of brotherly kindness he was  
feized by the constable and other officers, and  
most shamefully abused, being dragged down  
stairs, feized by the throat, set on a cowl staff,  
from which they let him fall; then they dragged  
him by the feet to the cage, pulling his hair  
off his head, and tearing his clothes. After all  
this ill usage, he was, by the mayor's order  
whipped in the market place; then thrown  
down backward into a wheelbarrow, carried in  
that up a part of the street, and from thence  
thrown into a dung cart, and so sent away  
from tithing to tithing, and threatened, that if  
he came again he should be whipped twice as  
much, burned on the shoulder and banished the  
land. At another time visiting a friend in his  
sickness, he was taken before two justices, who,  
because he declined to pull off his hat at their  
command, sent him to prison, where he lay five  
weeks.

This is another specimen of the unchristian treatment, which this people received from those hands, who, under pretence of the privileges of the people being infringed by the former powers, had taken up arms to redress their grievances. The succeeding revolution of government in the restoration of the monarchy exempted them from these servile punishments of whipping and passing them as vagrants, but exposed them to great hardships in long and uncomfortable imprisonments, and spoiling of their outward sub-  
pance.

This

This friend seems to have suffered severely C H A P. under every government, by most or all the variety of penal laws contrived for the distressing of non-conformists. The fifth-monarchy men XIV. 1704. had no sooner made their insurrection, than he was taken up as he was travelling on horseback and carried before the lieutenant of the county, who ordered him to be stripped and searched, sent away his mare, kept him on guard all night, and next day sent him to Winchester, At Win-ches-ter.<sup>3</sup> where after four days confinement in the marshal's house, the oath of allegiance was tendered him by two justices, who, upon his refusing it, committed him to the county jail, where he lay above four months. In 1662 he was committed to prison at Horsham in Sussex, and at the next assizes indicted, tried immediately, and sentence of premunire was passed upon him in the usual manner, under which he was detained in prison ten years and upward. He was prosecuted in the Exchequer for tithes at the suit of Robert Pepys, priest of Gatton, who furiously threatened to kill him: Said Pepys prosecuted him, his wife and two of his servants in the Ecclesiastical court, and procured their excommunication for absence from the national worship. Ambrose Rigge was indicted at sessions for not going to hear common prayer, and was committed to prison, where he lay above a year. In 1683 he was prosecuted by the aforesaid Pepys on the statute of 20l. a month for eleven months absence from the national worship.

Having thus passed a life of religious labour in the service of God and man, whereby many were converted to righteousness; and endured persecution and affliction with remarkable faithfulness

At Hor-  
sham pre-  
munire,<sup>4</sup>

In the Ex-  
chequer.<sup>5</sup>

CHAP. fulness and patience, whereby his peace was  
xiv. encreased, in the time of his last sickness, he  
~~~~~ looked forward towards his dissolution as the end  
1704. of all his troubles, saying, *I am going where the weary are at rest;* and having been inured to patience in affliction, it deserted him not in this last trial of all. He bore his sickness with much patience and resignation to the Divine Will, and his love and esteem of the pure truth abode with him to the last, declaring a little before his departure, “ If friends kept to the “ root of life in themselves they would be the “ happiest people in the world.” He departed this life the 30th of 11^{mo} , 1704, aged seventy years or upward, and a minister forty-nine years.

He lived long enough to see with regret a declension in some professing the same principle of truth, in turning their attention more to the pursuit of great possessions in this world, to aggrandize themselves and families, than to make their calling and election sure, whereby some meeting with disappointment in their aim, had deviated from that scrupulous regard to moral justice, which in the beginning had remarkably distinguished the members of this society; the deep and affecting concern of his mind drew from him the following epistle of advice to his friends :

“ Many days and months, yea, some years,
“ hath my life been oppressed, and my spirit
“ grieved, to see and hear of the *uneven walking*
“ of many, who have a name to live, and pro-
“ fess the knowledge of God in words, yea,
“ and also of some who had tasted of the good
“ word of God, and have been made partakers
“ of

“ of the powers of the world to come, and have C H A P.
“ received the heavenly gift and grace of God, XIV.
“ which teacheth all (who walk in it) to deny all
“ ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly,
“ honestly and righteously in this present world,
“ whose faithfulness (with great reason) hath
“ been expected to God in things of the highest
“ concern, and to have walked as lights in the
“ world, and in all faithfulness both to God and
“ man, to have stood as living monuments of
“ the mercies of the Lord, letting their lights
“ so shine before men, that they might see their
“ good works, both in spiritual and temporal
“ concerns; and so might have honoured and
“ glorified God in their day and generation,
“ and have convinced (or confounded) gain-
“ fayers, putting to silence the ignorance of
“ foolish men, whereby the worthy name of the
“ Lord (by which they have been called), might
“ have been renowned through the earth, and
“ his precious truth and glory spread to the ends
“ of it. that many through the beholding their
“ good and exemplary conversation in Christ,
“ (coupled with the holy fear of God) might
“ have desired to lay hold of the skirt of a chris-
“ tian indeed, whose praise is not of men, but of
“ God.

“ These are the fruits which we have laboured
“ and travelled for, through many and great
“ tribulations, that many might be turned to righte-
“ ousness, and that the knowledge of the power
“ and glory of the Lord might cover the earth,
“ even as the waters do the sea. This was (and
“ is) our only end and design, which blessed be
“ the Lord, many are witnesses of, and established
“ in, to our abundant joy and comfort: But there
“ are

CHAP. " are some amongst us, who have not walked
 XIV. " humbly with the Lord, as he hath required,
 ~~~~~ " nor kept in that low estate, neither inwardly  
 1704. " nor outwardly, which becometh such who are  
 " travelling up to Zion, with their faces thither-  
 " ward, but have launched from the rock which  
 " is firm and sure, into the great sea of troubles  
 " and uncertainty, where *some* have been drown-  
 " ed, *others* hardly escaping, and *many* yet la-  
 " bouring for the shore, with little hopes of  
 " coming at it; who have not *only* brought  
 " them selves in danger of suffering shipwreck,  
 " but have drawn in *others*, and have endan-  
 " gered *them* also, which hath opened the  
 " mouths of the enemies of Zion's welfare, to  
 " blaspheme his great and glorious name, and  
 " hath eclipsed the *lustre* of the glorious sun of  
 " righteousness, both in city and in country;  
 " this is a crying evil, and ought not to go  
 " unreproved, and that with a *severe* coun-  
 " tenance; for God is angry with it, and will  
 " assuredly punish it.

" Many have got credit upon the account of  
 " truth, because at the beginning it *did*, and  
 " doth still lead all, who *were* and *are* faithful  
 " to it, to faithfulness and truth, even in the  
 " unrighteous *mammon*, and to let their *yea* be  
 " *yea*, and their *nay* be *nay*, even between man  
 " and man in outward things; so that many  
 " would have credited one that was called a  
 " *QUAKER* with much, and many I believe  
 " did meerly upon that account, some whereof,  
 " I doubt, have just cause to repent of it al-  
 " ready: but if truth and righteousness had  
 " been lived in by all who profess it, there had  
 " been no such occasion given: For they who  
 " still

“ still retain their integrity to the truth and life C H A P.  
“ of righteousness manifested, can live with a XIV.  
“ cup of water, and a morsel of bread in a cot-  
“ tage, before they can hazard other men’s 1704.  
“ estates to advance their own; such are not  
“ forward to borrow, nor to complain for want,  
“ for their eye and trust is to the Lord their  
“ preserver and upholder, and he hath con-  
“ tinued the little meal in the barrel, and the oyl  
“ in the cruse hath not failed to such, ’till God  
“ hath sent further help; this is certainly known  
“ to a remnant at this day, who have coveted no  
“ man’s silver, gold or apparel, but have and do  
“ labour with their hands night and day, that the  
“ gospel may be without charge.

“ It is so far below the nobility of Christianity,  
“ that it is short of common civility and honest so-  
“ ciety amongst men, to twist into men’s estates,  
“ and borrow upon the truth’s credit, (gained by  
“ the just and upright dealing of the faithful)  
“ more than they certainly know their own  
“ estates are like to answer; and with what they  
“ borrow reach after great things in the world,  
“ appearing to men to be what in the sight of  
“ God and truth they are not, seeking to com-  
“ pass great gain to themselves, whereby to  
“ make themselves or children rich or great in  
“ the world: This I testify for the Lord God,  
“ is deceit and hypocrisy, and will be blasted  
“ with the breath of his mouth, and we have  
“ seen it already.

“ And that estate, that is got either with the  
“ rending, or with the hazard of rending ano-  
“ ther man’s, is neither honestly got, nor can  
“ be blessed in the possession: For he that bor-  
“ rows money of another, if the money lent be  
“ either

CHA P. " either the lender's proper estate, or part of it,  
XIV. " or orphan's money that he is entrusted withal,  
~~~~ " or widow's, or some such, who would not let  
1704. " it go but upon certain good security, and
" to have the valuable consideration of its im-
" provement; and the borrower, though he
" hath little or no real or personal estate of his
" own, but hath got some credit, either as he
" is a professor of the truth, or otherwise, and
" hath (it may be) a little house, and a small
" trade, it may be enough to a low and con-
" tented mind; but then the enemy gets in,
" and works in his mind, and he begins to
" think of an higher trade and a finer house,
" and to live more at ease and pleasure in the
" world, and then contrives how he may bor-
" row of this and the other, and when accom-
" plished according to his desire, then he begins
" to undertake great things, and get into a
" fine house, and gather rich furniture and
" goods together, launching presently into the
" strong to rent of a great trade, and then make
" a great show, beyond what really he is, which
" is dishonesty; and if he accomplish his in-
" tended purpose, to raise himself in the world,
" it is with the hazard (at least) of other men's
" ruin, which is unjust: but if he falls short
" of his expectation (as commonly such do)
" then he doth not only ruin others, but himself
" also, and brings a great reproach upon the
" blessed truth he professeth, which is worse
" than all; and this hath already been mani-
" fested in a great measure, and by sad ex-
" perience witnessed. But the honest, upright
" heart and mind knows how to want, as well
" as how to abound, having learned content

" in

“ in all states and conditions ; a small cottage C H A P .
“ and a little trade is sufficient to that Mind, xiv.
“ and it never wants what is sufficient : *For he* ~~~~~~~
“ *that clothes the lilies, and feeds the ravens,* 1704.
“ *cares for all who trust in him,* as it is at this
“ day witnessed, praises to God on high ; and
“ that man hath no glory in (nor mind out after)
“ superfluous or needless, rich hangings, costly
“ furniture, fine tables, great treats, curious beds,
“ vessels of silver, or vessels of gold, the very pos-
“ session of which creates envy, as said the antient
“ christian Clemens Alexandrinus. Pædag. lib. 2.
“ cap. 3. pag. 160, 161.

“ The way to be rich and happy in this
“ world, is first to learn righteousness ; for such
“ were never forsaken in any age, nor their seed
“ begging their bread. And charge all parents
“ of children, that they keep their children low
“ and plain in meat, drink, apparel, and every
“ thing else, and in due subjection to all just
“ and reasonable commands, and let them not
“ appear above the real estates of their parents,
“ nor get up in pride and high things, though
“ their parents have plentiful estates ; for that
“ is of dangerous consequence to their future
“ happiness : And let all who profess the truth,
“ both young and old, rich and poor, see that
“ they walk according to the rule and discipline
“ of the gospel, in all godly conversation and
“ honesty, that none may suffer wrong by them
“ in any matter or thing whatever ; that as the
“ Apostle exhorted, *they may owe nothing to any*
“ *man, but to love one another ; for love out of a*
“ *pure heart is the fulfilling the law :* which law
“ commands to do justly to all men : And he that
“ hath but little, let him live according to that

C H A P. " little, and appear to be what in truth he is ;
 xiv. " for above all God abhors the hypocrite, and
 ~~~~~ " he that makes haste to be rich falls into snares,  
 1704. " temptations, and many noisome and hurtful lusts,  
 1 Tim. vi. " which drown many in perdition, and the love  
 9. " of mony is the root of all evil, which while  
 " some have lusted after, they have erred from the  
 " faith, and compassed themselves about with  
 verse 10. " many sorrows.

" For preventing this growing evil for the  
 " time to come, let such by faithful friends be  
 " exhorted, who either live without due care,  
 " spending above what they are able to pay for,  
 " or run into great trades, beyond what they  
 " can in honesty and truth manage, and let  
 " them be tenderly admonished of such their  
 " undertakings ; this will not offend the lowly  
 " upright mind ; neither will the honest-mind-  
 ed, who through a temptation may be drawn  
 " into such a snare and danger, take any occa-  
 " sion to stumble, because his deeds are brought  
 " to the light. And if after mature deliberation,  
 " any are manifested to be run into any danger  
 " of falling, or pulling others down with them,  
 " let them be faithfully dealt withal *in time*,  
 " before the hope of recovery be lost, by honest,  
 " faithful friends, who are clear of such things  
 " themselves, and be admonished to pay what  
 " they have borrowed *faithfully* and *in due*  
 " *time*, and be content with their *own*, and to  
 " labour with their *own* hands in the thing that  
 " is honest, that they may have wherewith to  
 " give to him that needeth, knowing that *it is*  
 Acts xx. 35. " *more blessed to give than to receive.* And if  
 " they hear, and are thereby recovered, you  
 " will not count your labour lost ; but if they  
 " be

“ be high, and refuse admonition, it is a mani- C H A P.  
“ fest sign *all is not well*: Let such be admonish- XIV.  
“ ed again by more friends, and warned of the *~~~~~*  
“ danger before them; and if they still refuse <sup>1404.</sup>  
“ and reject counsel and admonition, then lay  
“ it before the meeting (concerned about truth’s  
“ affairs) to which they do belong, and if they  
“ refuse to hear them, then let a testimony go  
“ forth against such their proceedings and un-  
“ dertakings, *as not being agreeable to the truth,*  
“ *nor the testimony of a good conscience, neither in*  
“ *the sight of God nor man*; this will be a terror  
“ to evil-doers of this kind, and a praise, en-  
“ couragement and refreshment to them who  
“ do well, and nothing will be lost, that is  
“ worth saving, by this care: for he that doth  
“ truth, whether in spiritual or temporal mat-  
“ ters, will willingly bring his deeds to light,  
“ that they may be manifested to all, that they  
“ are wrought in God.

“ These things lay weightily upon me, and I  
“ may truly say, in the sight of God, *I writ*  
“ *them in a great cross to my own will*, for I  
“ delight not, nay, my soul is bowed down at  
“ the occasion of writing such things; but there  
“ is no remedy, the name of the Lord has  
“ been, and is likely to be greatly dishonoured,  
“ if things of this nature be not stopped, or  
“ prevented for time to come: Therefore  
“ I beseech you all, who have the weight and  
“ sense of these things upon you, let some  
“ speedy and effectual course be taken to pre-  
“ vent what possibly we may, both in this and  
“ all other things, that may any way cloud the  
“ glory of that sun which is risen amongst us.  
“ And make this public, and send it abroad to

CHAP. " be read in *true* fear and reverence, and let  
xiv. " all concerned be *faithfully* and plainly warned  
~~~~ " (without respect of persons) by faithful friends,  
1704. " who have the care of God's glory, and his
" church's peace and prosperity upon them :
" So will the majesty and glory of God shine
" upon your heads, and you shall be a good
" favour of life, both in them that are saved,
" and in them that are lost.

" Written by one who longs to see righteousness
" exalted, and all deceit confounded.

" Gatten-place in Surrey, the 16th
" of the 11th month, 1678.

" AMBROSE RIGGE."

C H A P. XV.

Account of John Blakeling.—Gilbert Latey.—Anne Camm.—Persecuting Act, entitled HERETICKS, passed in the Colony of Connecticut.—Repealed by the Queen and Council.

JOHN BLAKELING of Draw-well in the C H A P. parish of Sedbergh in Yorkshire, on the border of Westmoreland, was one amongst the earliest professors of the universality of the light of grace which came by Jesus Christ; himself, his wife, his father and mother being people in estimation with most or all who knew them, for their sobriety and religious conversation, were all convinced by the ministry of George Fox, when he first published his doctrine of the divine light in man in these parts, viz. in the third month 1652. About the beginning of the year 1655, John Blakeling appeared as a public minister of the same doctrine, and soon after travelled into the counties of Durham, Northumberland and Yorkshire. A few years after that he travelled into Scotland, visiting a great part of that nation, as also the northern counties of England in his way thither, and in his return. He likewise travelled through most of the counties of the nation at different times in the exercise of his ministry, wherein his labours were very serviceable and very acceptable to his friends, by whom he was greatly beloved and respected.

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1705.
Account of
John Blake-
ling.

Being

C H A P. Being a man of primitive simplicity in his
 xv. ministry, he was more attentive to minister under
 ~~~~~ the influence of divine power and wisdom to  
 1705. reach and affect the heart with solid impressions,  
 than to please the ear by elegance of speech ;  
 although his testimony was not eloquent, it was  
 substantial in profound and important matter,  
 suitable to the states of the auditory to which he  
 ministered.

In the discipline of the society he was eminently serviceable, being endowed with clear discernment, sound judgment and a good understanding in spiritual subjects, as well as in temporal affairs, whereby he was well qualified to give his sentiments with pertinence to matters under deliberation ; he was remarkably zealous for the promotion and maintaining of good order in the church, firm and steadfast in opposing and bearing testimony against contentious, disorderly and licentious spirits, against such as occasioned disrepute to the character of the society. It was at his house at \* Draw-well, that the memorable meeting was held for the recovery of John Wilkinson, John Story and their adherents, as before recited.

His benevolence and charity to the deserving were no less remarkable, than his zeal for good order. A tender sympathizer with those in low circumstances, he frequently assisted them in their difficulties, to the hazard of losing thereby, and frequently had the satisfaction to see the good effects of this exertion of his benevolence, in being blessed with success for their effectual relief.

He

\* See vol. iii, p. 13.

He had both the qualification and disposition C H A P.  
to prevent misunderstandings and promote peace, xv.  
being possessed of penetration, judgment and  
patience, with impartiality, to determine contro-  
versies and reconcile differences about temporal  
concerns; his reputation for justice and know-  
ledge in which, produced the general confidence  
of his friends and others, to devolve upon him  
various trusts for orphans, &c. which he trans-  
acted with unspotted integrity; so that his re-  
moval, even in an advanced age, was reputed  
a sensible loss, not only in the society of which  
he was a member, but in his neighbourhood  
also.

1705.

His unspotted reputation did not exempt him from the sufferings attendant on his profession; he was a considerable sufferer both in person and property. In the year 1661, this friend, in company with many more, was taken from a meeting at South Shields in the county of Durham by Major Graham, then deputy governor of Tinmouth castle; they were cast into filthy holes there, where they lay a month, and then he turned them out, having so far as appeared to them, neither order, authority nor warrant for any part of his proceeding. In 1664 he was imprisoned in York castle, sixty miles from his habitation, being taken with about fifty more from a meeting at Thomas Taylor's in Sedbergh, and after being detained some time in the custody of the constable, they were ordered by the justices to appear at the sessions about a week after, which they did; and John Blakeling, with about twenty others, were from thence committed to the aforesaid castle. In the year 1683 he was prosecuted in the arch-deacons

CHAP. deacons court at Richmond, and by a writ *de excommunicato capiendo* committed again to York castle, where he was confined several years, as  
 XV. ~~~~~ appears by two petitions signed by him in company with other prisoners, one to the King in 1684, the other to the Members of parliament for the county in 1685. The following extract from the former exhibits a plain narrative of the ruinous and unfair modes of plunder adopted by ill-principled men against this inoffensive body of subjects for the vilest purposes :

“ Divers persons convicted, fined and dis-  
 “ trained upon the statute of 20l. a month,  
 “ were first presented and prosecuted upon the  
 “ statute of 12d. a Sunday’s absence, and at  
 “ the beginning of the sessions called upon the  
 “ said presentment and prosecution ; yet during  
 “ the sessions the prosecution was changed to  
 “ 20l. a month, and the informers and bailiffs  
 “ who were appointed to make the distress, were  
 “ so cruel, and so destitute of common huma-  
 “ nity, that where there were not goods suf-  
 “ ficient to gratify their avaricious desires, they  
 “ have taken the very beds from under the  
 “ sick, their working tools from tradesmen,  
 “ and the entire property of all kinds from  
 “ others, so that many families have been to-  
 “ tally ruined, to the great grief of many sober  
 “ people who had the opportunity of observing  
 “ their cruel usage.

“ Since the prosecution of our friends for  
 “ monthly absence began by *qui tam*, several  
 “ of the worst sort of men, some who have  
 “ wasted their own estates, take this method of  
 “ repairing them by the spoil of honest people.  
 “ Others who owe money upon bonds, being  
 “ called

" upon for payment, forthwith bring a *qui-*  
 " *tam*, and by this method discount and pay  
 " their debts, or else clap the just creditor in  
 " prison, to lie there unless the bond be given  
 " up."

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In the year 1671 he was fined 20l. 10s. for a meeting at his house.

While of ability of body he was a good example, in a diligent attendance of religious meetings; but for some time before his death, he was prevented by the infirmities attendant upon advanced age, during which, he expressed the comfort, which he enjoyed in the Lord's peace and presence with him in his old age, that his day's work was nigh done, and his reward and rest with God was sure. He often signified his preparedness to leave the world, with fervent desires for truth's prosperity, and the preservation of unity and concord amongst brethren, in a faithful and steady testimony for the same in every part thereof.

He had a short sickness and an easy death, passing quietly out of this world without a sigh or a groan, in the eightieth year of his age, and was honourably interred at Friends burying place at Sedbergh, the fourth day of the 5th month, 1705.

Gilbert Latey, whom I have had repeated occasion to mention, for his frequent solicitations to government in favour of his friends under sufferings, died in the course of this year. He was born of honest parents in the parish called St. Issey in Cornwall, in 1626. His father was a reputable yeoman, his mother a gentlewoman of the principal family in the parish. Gilbert being

Account of  
Gilbert  
Latey.

CHAP. ing their youngest child, and his elder brothers  
 xv. being settled in business abroad, and in a pro-  
 ~~~~~  
 1705 perous way, he was desirous also to learn some
 Put appren- trade; and being a promising youth, a person,
 tice to a a taylor by trade, was desirous of taking him as
 taylor, an apprentice, to whom he was bound accord-
 ingly, and served a severe apprenticeship with
 fidelity.

When the term of his apprenticeship was finished, he removed for improvement in his occupation, first to Plymouth, and afterwards to London, where he arrived in the 9th month, 1648. He was a man of a sober conversation, and sincerely religious, attaching himself to those pastors and teachers who were in the greatest estimation at that time, frequenting sermons with remarkable diligence, and exercising himself much in private prayer: His integrity of heart, seen by the all-inspecting eye, drew down the divine blessing on the labour of his hands, which prospered his undertakings in business: His religious regard to honesty pro-
 cured him reputation, and his reputation pro-
 cured him the employment and cordial regard of many persons of considerable rank and sta-
 tion in the world. But his outward prosperity did not satisfy the desire of his soul, which was to find peace with his maker: In search of this attainment he had resorted from one preacher to another, of those who were accounted the most refined, and most eminent for piety and religious experience, but in his searching without, he could not find what he wanted to obtain.

In the year 1654, he heard that some men out of the North were to have a meeting at the house

prospered
in his bu-
siness.

Convinced
by the mi-
nistry of
Edward
Burrough.

house of Sarah Mathews, widow, to which he went; these men were Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough; by the powerful and convincing ministry of the latter he was so effectually reached, that he yielded assent to his doctrine of the light of Christ in man; and not consulting with flesh and blood, he turned his attention to follow the leadings of the Holy Spirit, through the illumination whereof he attained a clear and discerning understanding, and a sound judgment, by which he was qualified to become a serviceable assistant, in these early times of the society, previous to the establishing of a regular discipline, to introduce and preserve order in the church in the city of London and places adjacent, as well as in settling and keeping up the meetings in those parts, being exemplary in attending and visiting them, from place to place, as his concern drew him; although frequently in great jeopardy, during the time of anarchy between Cromwell's death, and the restoration of King Charles, when the rude populace* were broken loose, and stimulated to rage and violence, and would frequently stone them going to, in, and coming from their religious meetings, to the shedding the blood and endangering the lives of many.

About this time I apprehend it was, that he met with a very close trial of his faith, comparative to the cutting off the right hand: He was still in a very prosperous way of business, in which he employed many journeymen to answer the calls of his employers, many of whom were persons of rank and fashion; but being by the

He declines
trimming
clothes with
superfluous
ornaments.

* See vol. i. p. 266, &c.)

CHAP. the power of the cross of Christ induced to deny
xv. himself of all superfluity and needless ornaments
1705. in his own apparel, in conformity to the plainness of his profession, and the doctrine of the apostles of Christ, which was against the wearing of gold and silver and costly array: The same principle of light and grace which had instructed him to lay aside all superfluities in his own person, instructed him further that he could not keep up his testimony for the simplicity of the gospel with clearness, while he was in the practice of furnishing to others those superfluities, which he had, from conscientious conviction of their tendency to nourish a vain mind, and their inconsistency with christian gravity and humility, laid aside. In order to appease his conscience, he was obliged to submit to the bitterness of the cross, and endure the shame, by declining to adorn any apparel with superfluous ornaments of lace, ribbons and such like needless trimming, or suffering his servants to do it; which occasioned many to imagine he was going beside himself. His customers left him; his trade declined; he was obliged to dismiss his journeymen for want of employment; his outward prospects were so discouraging that he did not know but, that he might now be reduced to the necessity of working in the capacity of a journeyman himself, and of earning his bread by his daily labour: Yet being thus strengthened to prefer the testimony of a good conscience to the acquisition of temporary treasure, and give up all the flattering prospects of this world for solid peace of mind, possessing his soul in patience, and submitting to be accounted a fool for

for Christ's sake, he experienced the kindness of divine providence supporting him through his trials ; so that as his outward discouragements abounded, his inward peace did much more abound ; and having faithfully sought the kingdom of God, and his righteousness ; all things necessary, for his accommodation in this life, were added to his full content.

And although he lost the employment of many of his customers of rank and quality, he did not lose their respectful esteem of his virtue and his integrity ; this they retained with kindness, which gave him ready access to them, and others in authority and power ; many of whom were pleased to favour him with their countenance and friendship on several occasions. His interest and acquaintance with persons of high rank and station he applied, not to his own emolument, but to the relief of his friends under suffering in person or property ; deeply sympathizing with them in their various afflictions, he was always forward to use his solicitations for their ease, and frequently with signal success.

When intelligence was received in London of the imprisonment of Katharine Evans and Sarah Cheevers, in the inquisition of Malta ; Gilbert Latey (who in concert with George Fox was concerned for their release*) applied himself with solicitude to find out some person, if possible, who had an interest or influence in those parts, and, after some time and pains spent in the enquiry, he received information, that one, called Lord D'Aubigny, who had come over with the Queen

* See vol. ii. p. 61.

CHAP. Queen Dowager, and was Lord Almoner to her,
 XV. had both interest, power and authority in the
 1705. island of Malta. Gilbert upon receiving this
 intelligence, thought it his duty to wait upon this
 Lord D'Aubigny, to request his interest and in-
 tercession for their release, which he readily pro-
 mised.

He was a priest in orders according to the canons of the Romish church; yet no bigot, but a man of a rational, liberal and generous spirit; Gilbert, to satisfy his enquiry, gave him some information of friends principles and doctrine, to which he answered to this purport,

“ Some of our people think your friends are
 “ mad, but I entertain a very different opi-
 “ nion.”

*Lord D'Aubigny pro-
 cures their
 release.*

Gilbert renewing his enquiry from time to time, if Lord D'Aubigny had received any answer to the letters he had promised to write to Malta, at length received from him the acceptable account that his friends were restored to their liberty: And some time after they arrived in England, and coming to London, paid Gilbert a visit; and after acknowledging his love in his exertions for their release, they requested him to introduce them to Lord D'Aubigny, whom God had made the instrument of their enlargement out of a severe bondage. He readily complied with their request, and accompanied them to their benefactor, to whom Gilbert, as usual, found ready admittance; when introducing his companions, he said, these friends, who have been partakers of thy kindness, are come to pay their acknowledgments to thee for the fame; whereupon he asked, if they were the women?

women? to which they replied they were; and after their grateful acknowledgment of his great favour and kindness, added, that were it in their power they would be as ready in all love to serve him: Upon which he replied, good women, for what service or kindness I have done you, all that I shall desire of you is, that when you pray to God, you will remember me in your prayers, and so they parted.

Gilbert Latey was a party in most or all the solicitations to government for the ease of Friends in the different cases of severe suffering, through the reigns of King Charles, King James and King William, as hath been already recited; but it may not be impertinent briefly to mention two cases of application made by him, in company with his faithful colleague George Whitehead, which have not been noticed before. The first was the suffering case of several Friends in Norwich, under the cruelty of the sheriff and jailer, who, for attending their religious meetings, were imprisoned to the number of sixty-three persons, and very severely treated; ten of them being put into a deep dungeon, twenty-nine steps under ground; and several others into a hole amongst felons. An account of their grievous sufferings being sent to friends in London, and ineffectual endeavours used for their redress, being defeated by the misrepresentations of the sheriff; George Whitehead and Gilbert Latey resolved to wait upon the king in person, whom they met, with several nobles and attendants, when they delivered the king a petition from Friends of Norwich, and warmly solicited him in their favour: They had a pretty long conference

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in most applications to government.

C H A P. conference with him, and gave him pertinent
 xv. answers to several enquiries he made in respect
1705. to the singular conduct of Friends in some cases ;
 yet still keeping the cause of their application
 in view, repeatedly entreated him to compas-
 sionate the case of their suffering Friends in
 Norwich : In fine, the king being sensible that
 some of their treatment was not only cruel but
 illegal, assured them he would have it searched
 into, and consider their case. The assizes com-
 ing on soon after, the prisoners were called, to
 whom the judges behaved with remarkable mo-
 deration, and released them from their impri-
 sonment, acting, as there was ground to sup-
 pose, according to the instructions they had
 from the king in consequence of this applica-
 tion.

The other case not before related was con-
 cerning the Park and Savoy meeting-houses ; the
 case of the Park meeting-house was this :

CASE OF THE
 PARK AND
 SAVOY MEET-
 ING HOUSES.

About the month called May, 1685, the sol-
 diers possessed themselves of this meeting-house,
 and converted part of it into a guard-house :
 Then, as if their forcible entrance had given
 them a right of possession, they made great waste
 upon the premises, pulling down pales, digging
 up and cutting down the trees, tearing down
 the wainscots, and burning them and the ben-
 ches, carrying away the outward door, and se-
 veral of the casements. Afterward, when they
 were drawn out to the camp, they left the house
 open to any intrusion. John Potter, in whom
 the title was vested, re-entered, enclosed the
 outward door, and made other repairs, and had
 a survey taken of the damages, which were es-
 timated at 40l.

The

The soldiers returning again from camp, a CHAP.
quarter-master belonging to Colonel Haile's re- XV.
giment, came to the chambers of the said John
Potter, and demanded entrance, which was re-
fused : The quarter-master, assisted by soldiers,
broke in, handed away the goods, turned out
three aged women to another house, and made
alterations in the meeting-house for their accom-
modation, as if they meant to keep perpetual
possession. John Potter several times shewed the
colonel his lease, and title to the place; but it
availed nothing, he and his soldiers regarding
neither law nor equity, kept possession, and
still continued there.

Gilbert Latey and George Whitehead agreed to join in a solicitation to King James for redress of this grievance, and having gained admittance to his presence, represented to him the hardships Friends were under, by having their property wrested from them, both at the Park, and at the Savoy likewise, where Friends had been kept out in the cold yard in the winter many weeks by the guard. The King, who appears not to have been unconcerned in the matter, would needs have it, that these meeting-houses were forfeited to him by the conventicle act; but this they clearly disproved, and shewed so plainly the unreasonableness and illegality thereof, that within a few weeks, he caused both the meeting-houses to be restored, after the former was damaged, by computation to the amount of 150l.

But it was not only in these solicitations to the rulers, that the public spirit and brotherly sympathy of Gilbert Latey were excited to the service and relief of his friends; they were uni-

C H A P. formerly exerted in every case, which might demand his friendly assistance and attentive care, being one of those, who in early times had a tender concern for the poor, fatherless and widows; the sick and the imprisoned, to enquire into their necessities, and supply their wants; and when through persecution by imprisonment or distrains, casualties or disasters, the number greatly increased; he was amongst the first to see the propriety and necessity of calling in grave and motherly women to their assistance, that so none under these descriptions might suffer for want of attention and care in any part of the city.

In 1665, when the destructive pestilence broke out in the city of London, and the generality of citizens, who were able, were fleeing for their lives to the country, this friend had taken lodgings to retreat to the country also; but was prevented by the consideration, that many of his brethren were detained in several jails for the testimony of a good conscience, particularly in Newgate and the Gate-house in Westminster, in the midst of the contagion: For he could now feel no freedom to leave the city, and desert his friends under their multiplied calamities; he therefore kept his habitation, and according to

He visits his
friends in
prison
and in
their fami-
lies during
the plague.

And although his friends in prison in this calamitous season engaged his especial care, yet as the calamity was general, and not confined to prisons, neither were his sympathetic feelings;

he

He was also diligently employed at this season in visiting Friends in their families, both where they were laid up with the sickness, and where they were recovering, still under a concern that nothing should be wanting for their comfort or support. And the hearts of Friends being opened in brotherly sympathy with those, who were afflicted with this epidemical distemper, money was collected and sent up from the country to be distributed, where needful; the care of this distribution was committed to Gilbert Latey and one other friend, to divide amongst poor Friends who were lying ill of the contagion; but more specially those who were shut up in their houses in the out parishes. This trust they were careful to discharge with diligence and fidelity, enquiring out, and visiting those poor, who were confined to their own houses, and distributing to their necessities; and passing by none that they could hear of, through all which he was mercifully preserved in health, till the contagion was much abated, and the mortality was decreasing, when occasionally taking a cold, it brought on the prevailing distemper; but the divine Providence was over him for good, brought him safely through the distemper, and restored him to health again, to persevere in doing good in his generation.

We are now to view him in another light, as Receives a gift in the ministry. minister of the gospel. Soon after that close trial of his faith, when in obedience to manifested duty, he relinquished his worldly prosperity, and declined to fit out the clothes he had made with superfluous trimming, he received gift in the ministry, in which he also laboured

D 2 faithfully,

CHAP.
xv.
1705.

C H A P.

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faithfully, according to the ability received, and some were convinced, and many comforted, encouraged and strengthened in the way of righteousness and peace. His service in this line, as well as the former, was much restricted to the city of London, and the vicinity thereof, where he was zealously engaged, in the early times of the society to settle or keep up meetings in convenient places, as at Kingston, Hammersmith, Westminster and other places; and was frequent in his visits thereto, as he found his mind drawn to one or another.

Visits his native coun-
try.

Yet he paid two religious visits to his native country, the first in 1670, being a time of great persecution. He took the meetings of Friends in his way, Reading, Bristol, Bridgewater, South Moulton, so into Cornwall, having several good meetings on his journey thither, as well as in that county. At John Ellis's, near the Lands-end, he had a comfortable edifying meeting on the first day of the week, and next morning going to visit some Friends very near the Lands-end, he met a persecuting justice, who, as Gilbert was afterwards informed, was highly displeased that his accomplices had neglected to give him timely information, that he might have seized Gilbert's horse, and his man's, for that day's meeting.

Thence returning by Penzance and Market-jew, near this latter he had a meeting at a place where no friends were settled, to the great satisfaction of several present, who had never been at a friends meeting before. He proceeded to Helston and Falmouth, and had a meeting there; and from thence went back to Loveday Hambley's,

bley's, and had a good meeting there, and at several other places in that country.

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Leaving Cornwall he returned towards London by Plymouth, and having visited Friends there, he proceeded to King's-bridge, and contrary to his own and Friends' expectation had a peaceable good meeting; for Friends here were under grievous persecution; he therefore spent a little time amongst them, strengthening and tenderly sympathizing with them in their sufferings, and particularly with two young women who had not been long convinced, and were committed to prison by a warrant from justice Biere, (a passionate persecutor of this people) for not coming to church to hear divine worship. Gilbert from that fraternal sympathy, which on all needful occasions excited him to use his endeavours for the relief of his friends, resolved to renew them in behalf of these young women, and having an acquaintance with some who were in the lieutenancy, and men of authority in the commission of the peace, he came to Exeter, and having visited Friends there, proceeded to the house of a knight of great influence in the county, to whom he found ready access, and who expressed himself glad to see him in those parts: Gilbert let him know the occasion of his visit, and so warmly solicited his favour to his suffering friends, and these two young women in particular, that the knight at last replied, he would do more for him than any other of his friends, and having by his application brought the knight to that favourable disposition, which gave him reason to hope he had obtained the end of his visit, he took his leave of him

CHAP. him and his family, with acknowledgments of
 xv. his kindness; and after his return, received an
 ~ account that this knight, mindful of the expecta-
 1705. tions given him, had procured the liberty of
 these young women.

He had now received letters from London, informing him of the persecution, which affected Friends there in person and property; of the demolition of the meeting-houses at Horsly-down and Ratcliff; and that Wheeler-street meeting-house was threatened, the title of which was vested in him; he therefore hastened back to London with what expedition he could, with clearness as to his present service, and when arrived took the measures already related *, to secure that meeting-house from similar depredation.

His second journey was in the year 1679, into the same quarter, visiting his friends, and appointing or holding meetings with them to mutual edification in his going and returning, viz. at Reading, Bath, Bristol, through Somersetshire, the North of Devonshire to Falmouth in Cornwall, returning by the South side of Devonshire. As it seemed to be Gilbert's peculiar province to keep up a friendly intercourse with, and an open door of access to such persons of authority or influence as had been, or might be disposed to apply them to the relief of Friends. And Lamplugh then Bishop of Exeter, having granted him several favours, in respect to Friends under sufferings in his diocese; and upon a solicitous enquiry now as he passed along, finding the moderation

He pays a visit to the Bishop of Exeter.

* See vol. ii. p. 353.

moderation and tenderness both of himself and CHAP.
the officers of his court, under his influence, to XV.
have been extended to friends in a general way,
he thought it his place to pay him a visit, to ac-
knowledge his extraordinary kindness to his
Friends. The Bishop received him with remark-
able civility and affectionate regard; their con-
versation was expressive of sincere friendship
and mutual benevolence, which being ended,
Gilbert took his leave with expressing the grate-
ful acknowledgments he proposed by this visit.

This Friend, although a resident in London through all the heat of persecution, and although exemplarily diligent in attending meetings in their public meeting-houses, while they were permitted to meet in them, and in the streets in all weathers, when they were not; escaped sufferings and imprisonment beyond most of his brethren of that time; most of his sufferings appear to have befallen him previous to the restoration; feeling a concern, with many of his Friends of this age, to go to several of the places of public worship, to bear witness to the truth and against error. Amongst other places, he went one day to Dunstan's in the West, at which ——— Manton preached on this subject, *who might of right call God father*, on which he enlarged first, that they who were born of God, were his through regeneration, and had a just right to call God father. To this doctrine Gilbert attended with patience and assent; but afterwards proceeded to enquire concerning those who were not born of God, he alledged they were the Lord's by generation; and then in answer to this question, whether they must not call

His sufferings incomparably in comparison.

CHAP. call God father, replied, That they must also
 xv. pray to God as their father, and to prove his
 1705. assertion, said, though Absalom was a wicked
 son, yet David was his father. After he had
 ended his sermon, Gilbert warned the audience to
 take heed of their ways, adding, that while peo-
 ple are workers of iniquity, according to the doc-
 trine of our blessed Lord, *they are of their fa-
 ther the devil: and while they regard iniquity in
 their hearts the Lord will not hear their prayers.*
 The people were immediately all in a ferment,
 the constable was called for, who with others
 haled him out of their place of worship, and
 took him before a justice, where he pleaded his
 cause so well, that the justice asking the consta-
 ble if what he said was true, and if that was the
 whole matter; the constable answering in the
 affirmative, the justice observed that he had heard
 those people called Quakers were a sort of mad
 whimsical folks; but for this man he talks very
 rationally, and for my part I think you need not
 have brought him before me; to which the consta-
 ble replied, Sir, I think so too. The constable
 and Gilbert retiring, the former left him at li-
 berty to go whither he pleased.

Imprisoned
in the gate-
house, West-
minster.

He also suffered imprisonment, together with
 about fifteen or sixteen of his friends, in the
 Gate-house in Westminster, for meeting together
 to worship God: They were all put into a little
 dungeon, which was about ten feet in breadth,
 and eleven in length, and so dark, that they
 could see no more by day than by night; the
 walls were wet, and they being crowded into so
 narrow a compass, had room only to lie down
 by turns; so that while some lay down to rest,
 others

others were forced to stand : ' Beside this the keeper was so cruel as to command the turnkey not to let a little straw be brought in for them to lie upon ; but the Lord was with them to support them through all the trials of their faith and patience ; and in his own time delivered them from their sufferings.

xv.

1705.

During the reign of King Charles I cannot discover that he was ever imprisoned, notwithstanding the frequent persecutions that raged without restraint. Being a great supporter and frequent attender of the meeting at Hammersmith, in the year 1671, having occasion in the way of his trade to wait upon Lady Sawkell ; Sir William Sawkell her husband, who had a command in a regiment of horse, came into the room ; he had a friendly respect for Gilbert, and was often pretty familiar with him ; and now asked him what meeting he frequented, who answered sometime one meeting and sometime another. The reason is, said Sir William, because I have orders to break up a meeting of your people at Hammersmith next Sunday, from so high a hand, that I cannot avoid executing them ; and therefore, I inform you, that if at any time you go thither, you may refrain coming on that day. Gilbert notwithstanding, believing it his duty to attend Hammersmith meeting, let Sir William know it before they parted. The day came, Gilbert, not reasoning with flesh and blood, attended the meeting, in which he was much favoured, and as he was preaching, the troopers came, and stood for some time to hear his testimony, till one of the ruder sort, cried out this man will never have done, let

CHAP. let us pull him down, and accordingly laid hands on him. Gilbert sent word to the commanding officer; who coming in, said, Latey, did not I tell you that I was commanded to be here to day? Yes, replied Gilbert, and did not I tell thee I was commanded by a greater than thou, to be here also? Upon this, said Sir William, go get thee gone about thy business, and I will take care of the rest who are met here; Gilbert desired him, if he had any respect for him to discharge the rest, and let him be his prisoner. After some time the rest were set at liberty, and Gilbert taken before Lord Mordaunt and Sir James Smith; the troopers were called in evidence, and Gilbert made his defence so reasonably and discreetly, that it seemed to make an impression upon them, yet they fined him and the house, and distrained some Friends for the fines. Gilbert got access to the justices again, and shewed them the unreasonableness of that severe law, which made one man suffer for the offence of another; that if he had transgressed any law, the Lord had blessed him with a sufficiency, to enable them to reclaim the penalty from his effects, and requested that his friends might not suffer for any thing by him said or done; through his repeated applications, and the interest and influence of others, their equals and acquaintance, he procured the goods distrained to be restored; and had the satisfaction to see the sufferings designed to the Friends of that meeting, through divine goodness, and his solicitous endeavours, prevented.

In his more private transactions in religious society, he was a lover and promoter of unity and

and concord; very zealous against deceit and hypocrisy, the fomenting of divisions and schisms; but remarkably tender towards those who appeared sincere and humble, although weak and young in experience, and always ready to lend a hand of help to such: He had ever an honourable esteem for the elders, who were in Christ before him; and it was his great rejoicing to see the younger members treading in their steps; and when any of these were raised up in the ministry, as they kept to that power, which made their predecessors burning and shining lights in their day, his rejoicing was increased; these he encouraged with affectionate sympathy.

In his own family he was an exemplary pattern of conjugal affection, and paternal care, being often solicitously concerned to admonish and instruct his children to live in the fear of their creator, that they might thereby be preserved from evil.

As age advanced, and subjected him to the attendant infirmities of body, his mental faculties and religious feelings preserved their usual vigour and liveliness. His last public appearance in the ministry was in a meeting at Hammersmith; he was so raised up in his gift, and so supported by divine power, that with great authority and clearness, he delivered sound and weighty doctrine for near an hour, with fervency and his accustomed zeal, as if he had been under no infirmity of body, to the admiration of many of the auditory.

Towards the latter part of his time he delighted much to be retired, and dwelt mostly in the country:

C H A P.
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C H A P. country : And having served God and man in
 xv. his generation, the review of his life filled him
 with consolation in his retreat, having been often
 1705. heard to say, *that he had done the work of his
 day faithfully, and was now sat down in the will
 of God, and his peace he felt abounding towards
 him ; that he waited the Lord's call and time of
 being removed, and that there was no cloud in his
 way.* He was also in the time of his confine-
 ment, so strengthened in his spirit, and his love
 to his brethren, that he gave them much good
 counsel, when they came to see him, with as
 much energy and liveliness, as if he was in his
 health and strength : A very few hours before his
 departure, he said to those about him, *There is
 no condemnation to them, that are in Christ Jesus ;
 he is the lifter up of my head, he is my strength
 and great salvation :* In this frame of mind he
 breathed his last, the 15th day of the 9th
 month, 1705, in the seventy-ninth year of his
 age.

Account of
 Anne
 Camm.

This year Anne Camm, late wife of Thomas Camm, a woman eminent in her day for the excellency of her qualifications, and her service in society, died in an advanced age. She was the daughter of Richard Newby, of the parish of Kendal in Westmorland, of a family of repute ; her parents gave her a good education, proper for her sex, and about the 13th year of her age sent her up to her aunt in London for her further improvement, with whom she resided seven years ; and being favoured with religious inclinations from her early youth, she formed her acquaintance and connexion with the Puritans, from her apprehension of their being the most

strictly

strictly religious sect. And upon her return to **CHAP.**
xv.
 Kendal, seeking still to associate herself with the
 most serious professors of religion, she joined a
 body of people, who frequently met in a select
 society, sometimes sitting in silence, sometimes
 holding religious conferences, and often exer-
 cised in fervent prayer. About the year 1650
 she was married to John Audland, and was con-
 vinced at the same time with him by the minis-
 try of George Fox, early in the year 1652; Convinced
at the same
time with
her husband
John Aud-
land.
 and in the course of the succeeding year they
 both appeared in the ministry, to the edification
 of their friends and convincement of many others;
 for she was in all respects a most agreeable help-
 meet to her valuable husband, endeared to him
 by a similarity of disposition, qualifications and
 pursuits, feelingly described by her in her tes-
 timony concerning him*.

Her first journey in the work of the ministry She is im-
prisoned at
Aukland,
but soon
released.
 was into the county of Durham. At Aukland,
 for preaching to the people on the market day
 she was imprisoned in the town jail; but a pri-
 son could not confine the freedom of her spirit,
 or the charitable concern of her mind for pro-
 pagating religious truths and religious thought-
 fulness amongst the people assembled there. Un-
 der the influence of gospel love, and in the au-
 thority of the gospel, she continued her ministry
 from the window of the prison, whereby many
 were solidly affected, and confessed to the truth
 she published. She was discharged from her
 confinement the evening of the same day. John
 Langstaff, a man of great repute in his neigh-
 bourhood,

* See vol. ii. p. 88.

C H A P. **xv.** **bourhood**, was so affected by her ministry, that he voluntarily accompanied her in her imprisonment, and upon her release, took her home with him, in order to entertain her there. But his wife, offended at her husband's conduct and apparent change, received him and his guest with language, which plainly discovered her dissatisfaction with them both; this treatment made Anne quite uneasy to take up her lodging under a roof, where she found she was no welcome guest to one head of the house; she therefore walked out into the fields, to seek some covert, to take such lodging, as she could find there. But it was providentially ordered that Anthony Pearson, of Rampshaw, hearing by George Fox, who was then at his house, of her being in that town, came with a horse, and took her behind him to his house that night. She continued her travels in those parts some time longer, in the exercise of her ministry, to the spiritual advantage of many, and when she apprehended her service accomplished, returned home.

In the succeeding winter she travelled Southward through Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, and so forward into Oxfordshire, accompanied by Mabel Camm, wife of John Camm. At Banbury, Mabel apprehended a call of duty to go to the place of public worship, to speak to the priest and people; and Anne accompanied her. The people dragged them out of the house in a rude and violent manner, and abused them in the yard: The priest passing by, Anne Audland called to him, saying, "*Behold the fruits of thy ministry.*" Next day they were summoned before the mayor, where two witnesses

Imprisoned at Banbury.

nesses were procured to swear that Anne had spoken blasphemy ; and upon their information she was committed to prison, and her companion dismissed. Some days after, two inhabitants of the town gave bond for her appearance at the next assizes, which furnished her with several opportunities of religious meetings with the people of that town and neighbourhood, in which she was so favoured with power and wisdom in the exercise of her ministry, that it proved effectual to convince her two bondsmen, and numbers more, of the truths she preached to them, whereby they were induced to join in society with her and her brethren, and in an inward attention to the grace of God which brings salvation, which she bore testimony of, and recommended them unto. The establishment of a large meeting in that town, and several other meetings in the country adjacent, were the fruits of her ministry ; and to her friends here she cherished the most affectionate regard to the last. Her successful labour provoked the resentment of the adversaries of the society to that degree, that they threatened she should be burnt when the assizes came. Her enemies being numerous, powerful and much exasperated against her, several of her friends thought it their duty to attend the assizes, to strengthen her by their sympathy, countenance and assistance, in maintaining her cause and the cause of truth.

Her husband John Audland, John Camm, Is tried for blasphemy, Thomas Camm, with some friends from London and Bristol, encouraged her by their presence at her trial. The charge or indictment of blasphemy was this, that she said *God did not live* ; which

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which charge was founded on a perversion of a remark she made concerning the priest of Banbury, *That true words might be a lie in the mouth of some that spoke them*: In proof and explanation whereof she brought the expression of the prophet Jeremiah, chap. v. 2. *though they say the Lord liveth, surely they swear falsely*. Her prudent demeanour, her judicious remarks, her innocent boldness, tempered with becoming modesty, and her pertinent and wise answers to his questions inclined the judge to moderation and sentiments in her favour; and perceiving the incompetence of the evidence, that the matter of fact did not come up to the charge, he expounded her case to the jury thus, *that she acknowledged the Lord her God and redeemer to live, and that there were Gods of the Heathen that were dead Gods*. Some of the justices hereby perceiving their wishes and intentions to be frustrated, stepped from the bench to influence and bias the jury to bring in some verdict whereby their credit might be saved, who brought in their verdict, *guilty of misdemeanour only*, which occasioned one of her friends to observe, that, “ it was “ illegal to indict her for one fact, and bring “ her in guilty of another; for they ought to “ have found her guilty or not guilty, upon the “ matter of fact charged in the indictment.” The judge then told her, if she would give bond for her good behaviour she might have her liberty; this she refused, for the like reason as her brethren generally did. Her prosecutors, ashamed of their proceedings, slipped off the bench one after another in confusion; and the judge, although in the trial he behaved with candour, and

and
brought
in guilty of
a misde-
meanour.

and confessed she should have been discharged; yet to gratify the disappointed and angry justices, returned her to prison upon her refusal to give bond. C H A P. XV.
1705.

Being now left in the power of these persecuting magistrates, she was put into a noisome filthy dungeon, several steps below the ground, on one side whereof ran a common sewer, which was often very offensive by its smell, and admitted disagreeable vermin, and there was no fire to qualify the damps. She is put into a filthy dungeon.

Jane Waugh, also a minister of this society, from the pure motive of friendship, affection and sympathy with her imprisoned friend, came many miles to visit her there, and was rewarded for this christian-like office of love, with a participation of her suffering, being for this cause only, imprisoned with her. Here they enjoyed great content, in the consciousness of suffering in a good cause. In great peace she continued seven or eight months in this noisome dungeon, and at length was released by the Mayor and Aldermen, and her companion shortly after at her solicitation.

At her release, being clear of those parts, she travelled through the country to Bristol, where she met with her husband John Audland, whom I apprehend she accompanied, and joined in service, to their habitation in Westmorland. The reader may recollect the reflections suggested by the contemplation of this amiable couple in the account of her husband's decease, which it is therefore superfluous to repeat. They were both engaged in frequent travels for the purpose of promoting religion and righteousness, in

HISTORY OF THE

C H A P. most parts of the nation, as far as I can collect,
 XV. some times unitedly, and some times separately,
 ~ until her husband was disabled by that indisposition,
 1795. which terminated in his death in the year 1663.

She is married a second time to Thomas Camm. She continued a widow between two and three years, and in the 3^{mo}. 1666, was married to Thomas Camm, son of John Camm, her former husband's faithful companion. This her second husband was also a man, experienced in religion, and a minister of eminence in the society of his friends. Their union being centered in religion and the fear and united service of their maker, they lived together in the utmost harmony and nearness of affection forty years, within a few months. An union on this certain foundation of happiness, naturally revives the recollection of the comprehensive description which the Evangelist [Luke] hath left on record, of a religious pair of that age: *They were both righteous before God, walking in all the commandments of the Lord blameless.*

Reflections on marriage. And here I feel an inclination to lay before my young friends, as I trust this may fall into many of their hands, the wise and solid maxims, which were adopted by our faithful predecessors for the rule of their conduct in this very important engagement of marriage, as that on which not only our peace and happiness in this life very much depends; but that whereby our efforts in the pursuit of future happiness may frequently be very materially promoted or obstructed. It was a maxim with them, as firmly believed as the most self-evident truth, that the only sure foundation of happiness was laid in religion, and therefore their

their advice and their practice was, to seek for divine counsel and approbation, in every step towards forming this indissoluble connection, and to proceed circumspectly in the fear of their creator. Both male and female, having their eye principally to an everlasting inheritance, incorruptible, and that fadeth not away, were exceedingly circumspect in their stepping, that their growth in pure religion might not be retarded thereby; the former, by fervent prayers, seeking to the Almighty to be rightly directed in his choice; and the latter, receiving the proposal with cautious reserve, pondered it in her heart, and also besought the same divine being to direct her in her determination. Marriage thus determined in religious fear, and on religious considerations, in the divine counsel, is doubtless ratified in heaven, and draws down a blessing upon the parties thus uniting themselves in one holy disposition, and one determined resolution to promote their own, and each others spiritual and temporal advantage. This pure religion proves a foundation of uninterrupted harmony between themselves, and a stay and a staff in the vicissitudes of this life, to which all are liable; in prosperous circumstances a stay to the mind, when riches encrease, not to set their hearts thereupon, nor to consume them on their lusts, after the manner of this world; but to let their moderation appear, knowing the Lord is at hand, as stewards only of the good things they posseſſ, and accountable to the Lord of the universe, whose the earth is and the fulness thereof; the natural benevolence of their souls, refined by religion into christian charity, teacheth them to

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1705.

sympathize with, and feel deeply for the poor and needy, and to communicate freely to their wants ; in adversity and the various trials they are exposed to, they ever find it a staff to lean upon, sufficiently able to support them, and bring them safely through all their afflictions and besements, and in the end find all things work together for their good, because they fear and serve the Lord.

This worthy woman, Anne Camm, proved this truth, for she bore her share of the sufferings of this trying day, stedfast in her faith in divine support, in which she found ability to sustain them with patient resignation and religious fortitude. She was tried with repeated separations from her second husband, as well as the former, by a succession of tedious and close imprisonments. He was imprisoned particularly at Kendal for the space of three years, where his confinement was so close that he was not permitted to see his family during that time : Again at Appleby, near six years ; and in all his sufferings and services she participated with him as a faithful helpmeet ; in the former sympathizing with, and strengthening him in his suffering for the testimony of a good conscience, supplying his place during his confinement, and without doubt exerting her care to keep their outward concerns in the best order in her power, for she appears to have been a very virtuous and discreet woman. And in his religious labours and services, she was not only free to give him up and encourage him to faithfulness, but often a powerful fellow labourer in the gospel along with him, for they travelled together several journeys as companions in the work

PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

5

work of the ministry, in sundry parts of the nation, and particularly to London and Bristol oftner than once, at the latter of which she was seized with an indisposition, which appeared to threaten her dissolution; but was raised above the fear of death, and preserved in a lively frame of spirit, wherein her expressions were so weighty and affecting, as to leave a lasting impression on the minds of several of the auditors, warning all to prize their time, and prepare for their latter end, as God had inclined her to do, whereby she enjoyed unspeakable peace here, with full assurance of eternal rest and felicity in the world to come, which, said she, I have desired to enter into, as gain, rather than live, if God so please. But the period of her zealous labours for the promoting of righteousness was not by divine wisdom assigned her at this time; she recovered her health and strength, to be of great service in society, for a length of time.

Although she was in honourable esteem, as she deserved, for her accomplishments, her virtues and her public services, she was preserved in humility, not affecting to do her works to be seen of men, but frequently retired alone into her closet or other private place, in fervent prayer to seek the approbation of her maker, and the fresh discovery of his will concerning her; or set apart an hour for perusing the holy scriptures, and other pious writings for her edification. And though qualified above many with an excellent gift in the ministry, she was by no means forward to appear in preaching or prayer in public meetings; but when she did, it was with the demonstration

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xv.

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HISTORY OF THE

CHAP. monstration of the spirit and with power, to the
xv. refreshment of the church: And especially in
large meetings, where she knew there were bre-
thren well qualified for the service of such meet-
ings, she rarely appeared as a public minister
without an extraordinary impulse, for she was
endued with wisdom and a sound understanding,
to know the season of her service, when to speak
and when to be silent, in which she was a good
example to her sex; and when any of them were
too hasty or unseasonable in their public appear-
ances in such meetings, being a woman of sound
judgment, and disapproving thereof, she fre-
quently found it her concern to hint an admoni-
tion to such, in the authority of the gospel, and
in the meekness of wisdom, which generally had
a good effect.

Her last public appearance in the ministry,
was at a monthly meeting at Kendal the 2d of
9^{mo}, 1705, at which time, though far advanced
in years, and affected with the bodily infirmity
attendant on old age, the liveliness of her zeal
and her spiritual abilities maintained their vigour
even to admiration. In this her farewell sermon,
with affecting energy, she closely pressed her
friends to faithfulness and diligence in the ser-
vice of the Lord, that they might receive
their reward with those who had nearly served
out their day.

The next day she was seized with that distem-
per which terminated her labours, and her end
was such as naturally resulted from a well spent
life; full of peace, she resigned her soul to him
who gave it, in humble expectation of reaping
the fruit of her labours, the sentence of approbation—*Well done, good and faithful servant, as mani-*
festly

festly appeared by her expressions on her death-bed. Her husband, who knew best her worth, impressed with a deep sense of sorrow, and discovering the natural regret at the prospect of being deprived of so valuable a companion, she nobly encouraged to resignation in the following address. " My dear, if it be God's good pleasure, who joined us together, and hath blessed us hitherto, to separate us outwardly, I entreat thee to be content therewith, and give me up freely to the Lord, for thou knowest we must part ; and if I go first, it is but what I have desired of the Lord many a time ; and I believe the consideration of the defolate condition I should be in, if left behind thee, will have that place in thee, that thou wilt the more freely commit me to the Lord, whose I am, and whom I loved, feared and served with an upright heart all my days : His unspeakable peace I enjoy, and his saving health is my portion for ever. I pray thee be content with what the Lord pleaseth to do with me, whether life or death, his holy will be done." And when she drew near her end, about ten days before she died, she imparted profitable counsel to her grandchildren and servants ; and renewed her request to her husband to give her up freely, adding, " If it be the time of our parting, as I think it will, I pray thee quit thyself of the things of this world, as much as possible, that thou mayst with the more freedom pursue thy honourable service for truth to the end of thy days—and warn all, but especially the rich, to keep low, and not to be high-minded, for humility and holiness are the badges of our profession."

C H A P.

XV.

1795.

C H A P. "fession." Her distemper increased upon her
xv. near a month before her change came, during
1705. all which time, her weighty counsel, her edify-
 ing remarks, and perfect resignation of mind
 clearly evinced she was well prepared for her final
 change, which happened on the 30th of 9^{mo},
 1705, and the attendance of her funeral was an
 evidence of the universal estimation of her vir-
 tues and her services, her corpse being accompa-
 nied to the grave by friends from 13 different
 meetings.

The persecution of the Quakers in New-Eng-
 land had subsided in a great degree, since the re-
 moval of the principal persecutors by death, and
 a train of succeeding occurrences of a very seri-
 ous and interesting nature, which necessarily
 drew off their attention, to provide against more
 imminent dangers, and more certain evils. The
 Indian wars, the loss of their charter and their
 power; their succeeding political contests amongst
 themselves; and after their Charter was renewed
 by King William, their general infatuations in
 the busines of witchcraft, had given them suffi-
 cient employment; whereby this peaceable body
 of people obtained a respite of their sufferings,
 till the Act of Toleration set them at liberty to
 enjoy that peace they desired. But no sooner had

A persecut-
ing Act, en-
titled Hereti-
cies, passed
in the colo-
ny of Con-
nnecticut.

the state recovered from its commotions, and re-
 turned to a settlement, than the colony of Con-
 necticut first discovered a propensity, notwith-
 standing the toleration, to revive the former oppres-
 sive measures against this society, by passing an act
 entitled *Heretics*, in relation whereto, application
 being made to the Queen and Council, it produc-
 ed the following order, by which the purport of
 this

this act will appear of a nature similar to their C H A P.
former persecuting acts.

xv.

“ At the Court of Kensington, the 11th day of 1705.
“ October, 1705,

P R E S E N T,

“ His Royal Highness Prince George of
“ Denmark,
“ Lord Archbishop of Canterbury,
“ Lord Keeper,
“ Lord Treasurer,
“ Lord President,
“ Duke of Somerset,
“ Duke of Ormond,
“ Earl of Ranelagh,
“ Mr. Boyle,
“ Mr. Secretary Hedges,
“ Mr. Secretary Harley,
“ Lord Chief Justice Holt,
“ Lord Chief Justice Trevor,
“ Mr. Vernon,
“ Mr. Earle.

“ A representation from the lords commission-
“ ers of trade and plantations, being this day
“ read at the board, upon an act passed in her
“ Majesty’s colony of Connecticut, entitled only
“ *Heretics*, whereby it is enacted, that all who
“ shall entertain any Quakers, Ranters, Ada-
“ mites, and other Heretics, are made liable to
“ the penalty of five pounds, and five pounds
“ per week for any town that shall so entertain
“ them; That all Quakers shall be committed
“ to prison, or be sent out of the colony;
“ That

C H A P. " That whoever shall hold unnecessary discourse
 xv. " with Quakers, shall forfeit twenty shillings ;
 ~~~~~ " That whoever shall keep any Quakers books,  
 1705. " (the governor, magistrates, and elders except-  
 " ed) shall forfeit ten shillings, and that all such  
 " books shall be suppressed ; That no master of  
 " any vessel do land any Quaker without carrying  
 " them away again, under the penalty of twenty  
 " pounds.

" And the said lords commissioners, humbly  
 offering, that the said act be repealed by her  
 majesty, it being contrary to the liberty of  
 conscience indulged to dissenters by the laws  
 of England ; as also to the charter granted to  
 that colony,

" Her Majesty, with the advice of her privy  
 council, is pleased to declare her disallow-  
 ance and disapprobation of the said act ; and  
 pursuant to her majesty's royal pleasure there-  
 upon, the said act passed in her majesty's colo-  
 ny of Connecticut in New-England, entitled  
 " *Heretics*, is hereby repealed, and declared null  
 and void, and of none effect."

In gratitude for this repeal, friends in London  
 thought it their duty to present an address to the  
 Queen, which address, with her answer, are as fol-  
 loweth :

" May it please the QUEEN,

1706.

" WE thy protestant dissenting subjects, com-  
 monly called Quakers, in London, having  
 lately been the Queen's humble petitioners on  
 the behalf of our friends in New-England,  
 against a law made in Connecticut colony for  
 their suppression, which law the Queen has  
 " been

“ been graciously pleased to disallow and make c H A P.  
“ void,

XV.

“ We now find ourselves engaged in duty and ~~~~~  
“ gratitude to make the just returns of our thank-  
“ ful acknowledgments to the Queen, for this  
“ eminent instance of inviolably maintaining  
“ the toleration; and do therefore humbly crave  
“ leave, on this occasion, to repeat the sincere  
“ assurance of our christian and peaceable subjec-  
“ tion and unfeigned joy for the Queen’s mild  
“ and gentle government, aiming at the good  
“ of all *her* people.

1705.

“ May the blessing of the Almighty so prof-  
“ per and accomplish the Queen’s just desires of  
“ union among her subjects, of firm peace in  
“ Europe, and of the increase of virtue, that in  
“ the delightful fruition thereof, the Queen may  
“ enjoy many days, and after a life of comfort,  
“ be translated to a glorious immortality. Signed  
“ on behalf of the said people by

“ JOHN FIELD,

“ JOSEPH WYETH.”

### The Q U E E N ’ S Answer.

“ LET the gentlemen know I thank them  
“ heartily for this address, and that while they  
“ continue so good subjects, they need not doubt  
“ of my protection.”

The repealing of this act put a final period to  
the persecuting of Quakers in New-England:

And

CHAP. And as the rigorous measures pursued against  
xv. them at their first appearance in that colony, and  
for a series of years after, may appear to have  
<sup>1705.</sup> been treated with some severity of animadversion  
(as they deserved), it is but justice to observe,  
that the descendants of these colonists, perceiving  
the enormous mistakes of their predecessors, have  
adopted more liberal and humane maxims of  
conduct; so that for several years past this body  
of people have been treated with lenity, and  
have been in some respects more easy in the  
New-England provinces than in most others,  
Pennsylvania and Jersey excepted; particular-  
ly in an entire exemption from any contri-  
bution to the support of the established mi-  
nistry.

CHAP.

## C H A P. XVI.

*Address to Queen Anne on the Prevention of a Rebellion.—Account of Thomas Camm.—His sufferings.—His Death and Character.—Second Address to the Queen on declaring her Resolution to maintain the Toleration.—Account of John Banks.—Account of William Crouch.*

THE incorporation of England and Scotland C H A P. XVI.  
1707. into one kingdom, which was a favourite measure with James the First ; and had also engaged the attention of King William, but which neither of them could get effected, was brought about this year, under the title of The Kingdom of Great Britain. The Scotch nation in general being quite averse to this union, it created great discontents among all the classes of the people. Lewis XIV. king of France, being at this time unable to cope with his confederated enemies in the Netherlands, of which the English were amongst the most formidable, looked upon this disaffection of Scotland to the English government, to present a favourable opportunity to divide the allied forces, by giving employment to the British arms at home. With this view, he made great preparations to support the Pretender, in an invasion of England, at the head of the Scotch malecontents ; but the vigilance of the British government was the means An attempt  
in favour of  
the Pretender,  
frustrated. of

**C H A P.** of defeating his design. Addresses of allegiance  
**xvi.** or congratulation having been sent up to the  
 Queen from different parts upon this occasion,  
 1708. the people called Quakers thought it expedient,  
 from their yearly meeting, to present the following address.

“ To Anne Queen of Great Britain, &c.

“ The grateful and humble Address of the people  
 “ commonly called Quakers, from their yearly  
 “ meeting in London this 28th day of the third  
 “ month called May, 1708.

Third Ad-  
dress to Q.  
Anne.

“ WE having good cause to commemorate  
 “ the manifold mercies of God vouchsafed to this  
 “ united kingdom of Great Britain, believe it  
 “ our duty to make our humble acknowledg-  
 “ ments, first to the divine Majesty, and next to  
 “ the Queen, for the liberty we enjoy under her  
 “ kind and favourable government, with hearty  
 “ desires and prayers to Almighty God (who hath  
 “ hitherto disappointed the mischievous and  
 “ wicked designs of her enemies both foreign  
 “ and domestic) that he will so effectually reple-  
 “ nish the Queen’s heart, together with those of  
 “ her great council, with his divine wisdom, that  
 “ righteousness, justice and moderation, which  
 “ are the ornaments of the Queen’s reign, and  
 “ which exalt a nation, may be increased and  
 “ promoted.

“ And we take this opportunity to give the  
 “ Queen the renewed assurance of our hearty  
 “ affection to the present established government,  
 and

“ and that we as a people will, in our respective C H A P.  
 “ stations, according to our peaceable principles, X VI.  
 “ by the grace of God, approve ourselves in all  
 “ fidelity the Queen’s faithful and obedient sub-  
 “ jects, and as such conclude with fervent prayer  
 “ to the Lord of Hosts, that after a prosperous,  
 “ safe and long reign in this life, thou, O Queen,  
 “ mayst be blessed with an everlasting crown of  
 “ glory.”

1708.

Seven friends were appointed to present this address, amongst whom was George Whitehead, who upon presenting it, said, “ We heartily wish the Queen health and happiness: We are come to present an address from our yearly meeting, which we could have desired might have been more early and more seasonably timed, but could not, because our said meeting was but the last week, and therefore now hope the Queen will favourably accept our address.” When he delivered it, the Queen requested him to read it, which he did, and the Queen answered, “ I thank you very kindly for your address, and I assure you of my protection; you may depend upon it.” To this G. Whitehead replied, “ We thankfully acknowledge that God, by his power and special providence hath preserved and defended the Queen against the evil designs of her enemies, having made the Queen an eminent instrument for the good of this nation and realm of Great Britain, in maintaining the toleration, the liberty we enjoy in respect to our consciences against persecution: which liberty being grounded upon this reason in the late King’s reign, for the uniting the Protestant subjects

CHAP. " *jecls in interest and affection,* the union of Great  
 XVI. " Britain, now settled, tends to the strength and  
 ~~~~~ " safety thereof; for in union is the strength and  
 1708. " stability of a nation or kingdom; and with-
 " out union no nation or people can be safe, but
 " are weak and unstable. The succession of the
 " crown being settled and established in the pro-
 testant line, must needs be very acceptable to
 " all true protestant subjects.

" And now, O Queen! that the Lord may
 " preserve and defend thee for the future, the
 " remainder of thy days, and support thee
 " under all thy great care and concern for the
 " safety and good of this nation and kingdom of
 " Great Britain, and that the Lord may bless
 " and preserve thee to the end, is our sincere
 " desire."

To this the Queen returned, " I thank you
 " for your speech, and for your address; and
 " ye may be assured I will take care to protect
 " you." G. Whitehead replied, " the Lord
 " bless and prosper the Queen in all her good in-
 " tentions;" and then these friends withdrew.

Account of
Thomas
Camm.

In this year died Thomas Camm of Camm's-
 gill in Westmoreland, son of John Camm, whose
 life and character is the first recorded in this his-
 tory. Both his parents being members of the
 society, conspicuous for their integrity and piety,
 he had the advantage of a religious education in
 the principles of the people called Quakers, their
 pious counsel and circumspect example made a
 deep impression on his tender mind; whereby,
 from his early youth, he was blessed with religi-
 ous sentiments, and delighted in the company of
 the most religious persons. And as he grew up,
 his

his understanding was illuminated, to perceive, C H A P. that besides an education in the most perfect form of religion, the experience of inward sanctification by that word, which is quick and powerful, was necessary; and being humbled into frequent inward retirement to feel after this quickening word, he was favoured with the attainment of what he saw he stood in need of, and by the virtue of this refining power being purified, he received a gift in the ministry, in which his doctrine was sound, and his delivery agreeable, not in the enticing words of man's wisdom, but in the demonstration of divine power, reaching the witness of God in the hearts of his hearers, whereby he was made instrumental to convert many to, and establish many in the way to righteousness and peace.

He spent much of his time in travelling in various parts of the nation, in the exercise of his ministry, for the edification of his friends, while he was left at liberty. But he bore his share of His sufferings. the sufferings of this age both in person and property, whereby his travels were repeatedly interrupted. In the year 1674 he was sued by John Ormrod, priest of Burton, for small tithes and oblations, and by a writ *de excommunicato capiendo* he was cast into prison at Kendal, where he was detained in a close confinement for a great part of three years. He was afterwards imprisoned for six years in the county jail at Appleby (as before noted in the account of his wife's decease) on what account I am not informed, but most probably for the like demand of tithes, so that he was imprisoned near nine years in all.

On the 13th of October 1678, after the commencement of the last conventicle act, Edward

CHAP. Wilson, a justice of peace, sent several informers
 XVI. to a meeting held in the house of Edward Cragg
 ~~~~~ of Ackonthwaite, and upon their evidence, con-  
 1707. victed several persons without examination, or  
 summoning them before him, and issued his war-  
 rants of distress, whereby there were taken from  
 Thomas Camm in particular, for preaching at  
 the said meeting, nine head of cattle and fifty-  
 five sheep worth 31l. 10s. When the officers  
 complained to this rigorous justice that they could  
 not sell some of the cattle, he charged them to  
 sell at any price, and fetch more till they had  
 enough, and ordered them to drive them from  
 market to market, to sell them cheap for the  
 encouragement of buyers; threatening them,  
 that if they did not raise all their fines, they  
 should pay the rest out of their own pockets.  
 There were again, by warrant from the said Wil-  
 son, two oxen taken from him worth 7l. upon  
 an information of being at a meeting at Tarle-  
 ton; being with others fined on account of a  
 preacher, who was said in the warrant to be fled,  
 and his habitation unknown: Whereas the  
 preacher was so far from fleeing, that he went to  
 the justice's house, and left word there, that his  
 name was Thomas Dowcra, and that he dwelt at  
 Swarthmore near Ulverstone, in Lancashire, and  
 that he was of ability to pay his own fine, for  
 which reason he desired it might not be imposed  
 upon others.

<sup>4</sup>  
To the va-  
lue of 7l.

All his sufferings, which were many, he bore  
 with fortitude and firmness; unshaken in his  
 testimony for truth, he maintained it uniformly  
 to the last; far from being discouraged by suffer-  
 ing in a good cause, it was his joy and crown of  
 rejoicing,

rejoicing, that he was counted worthy not only C H A P.  
to believe in the truth, but also to suffer for it. XVI.

He was not only eminent amongst his brethren  
for his service in the ministry, but in the main-  
taining the discipline of the church, for which he  
was remarkably well qualified, being himself a  
shining example of righteousness in his own con-  
versation, richly replenished with divine wis-  
dom, and adorned with meekness and humility,  
his endeavours to promote an orderly conversa-  
tion, consistent with their profession, amongst his  
friends, were attended with the greater weight and  
effect; whether exerted in the meekness of wis-  
dom for the strengthening and encouragement of  
the weak and well dispos'd; or in a well tempered  
zeal against every appearance of evil; especially  
against that spirit which endeavoured to lay waste  
the testimony and religious care of friends, and  
foment divisions in the church, with which we  
have seen the county of his residence was parti-  
cularly exercised. Being a man of peace, he la-  
boured to follow it with all men; to promote it in  
the church and amongst all sorts of people. Love  
and unity amongst brethren he rejoiced in, and  
where any thing appeared tending to a breach of  
it, he used his utmost endeavours to put a stop  
thereto. Benevolent and kindly affectioned to  
all men, he was beloved and esteemed by the  
good, as far as his acquaintance extended.

When he was advanced in years, and affected  
with infirmities in consequence of the hardships  
and sufferings he had endured in the successive  
stages of his life, his zeal for truth, and his love  
to his brethren, and concern for the well-being  
of mankind in a general way, engaged him in

CHAP. repeated religious labours and visits to his friends  
 XVI. in various parts, to their comfort and edification,  
 ~~~~~ to near the termination of his life.

1707. His last journey in religious service was into Lancashire, the west of Yorkshire, and his own county of Westmoreland, from which he returned on the 17th of the 11^{mo}, 1707, O. S. to his Son-in-law's, John Moor's at Eldworth; and here he was immediately attacked by a return of a distemper which had been before at times troublesome to him, viz. the stone and gravel, which continuing to encrease upon him, and affect him with violent pain, so that he could take little food or sleep, yet he bore it with much patience. In the prospect of future happiness he was perfectly resigned to the divine will, frequently expressing his acquiescence therein in these or similar terms, "I neither desire to live nor to die, but am well content, however it shall please the Lord to order it." One day sitting alone, his son John Moor came to bear him company, and asking him how he did? he answered, "I am weak in the body, but strong in the inner man, blessed be the Lord, who hath been my strength and support hitherto," expressing his humble thankfulness to the divine Being for his multiplied and unspeakable mercies to him, in the successive vicissitudes of his life.

About a week before he died, several of his grand-children being in the room with him, he said unto them, "Now I think I must leave you. If the Lord had seen meet to spare me a little longer, I might have been of service to you in counfel and advice; but the Lord, the great and wise counsellor, as you have your eye to him

“ him above all things, will not be wanting in C H A P.
“ counsel to you ; I love you entirely, and the XVI.
“ blessing of the Almighty rest upon you, if it be
“ his will.” To John Moor and others present,
“ Bear me record, that I die in perfect unity
“ with the brethren ; my love is as firm and true
“ as ever, in our Lord Jesus Christ, the author
“ of our salvation.”

1707.

To recount all the solid expressions which this good man brought forth from the good treasure of his heart, during a confinement of five or six weeks, might to some readers appear tedious : The fore-cited expressions appear to bespeak a mind redeemed from the earth, and looking forward with serenity to an habitation eternal in the Heavens, for which he had been, through the course of a pretty long life, careful to make preparation.

He departed this life at Eidworth aforesaid, in much peace and quietness, the 13th day of the first month 1707-8, in the 67th year of his age. His body was removed from thence to his late habitation at Camm's-gill, and on the sixteenth from thence to friends burying-ground at Park-end in Preston-Patrick to be interred. The great numbers and decent solemnity of friends of that and other adjacent counties, and of the neighbourhood of other societies, under a general appearance of sorrow, demonstrated the respect they bore to his character. The corpse being interred, most of the attendants drew into the meeting-house, and had an edifying season together, the divine presence eminently overshadowing the assembly, to the affecting many hearts with reverent solemnity and serious considerations, under the

C H A P. the influence whereof, divers lively testimonies
 ~~~~~ XVI. were borne to the sufficiency of that universal prin-  
 ~~~~~ ciple of light and grace, of which the deceased  
 1710. had been a shining example.

In this year party animosities, which appear to have subsided for some time past, broke out with remarkable violence. Sacheverel, a violent high church-man, inveighed against the dissenters in several harangues ; for two of which he was complained of to the house of commons, who impeached him of high crimes and misdemeanours, of which he was found guilty by the lords and silenced for three years ; the clergy and others of the same stamp, who were now become numerous, patronized his cause as their own, with all the vehemence of a violent party spirit, pointed their sermons and discourses with intemperate warmth against the dissenters, and stimulated the populace to riot and outrage against them, raising a popular cry that *the church was in danger*. The Queen also being influenced to change her ministry and measures, he was used as a tool to turn the passions of the vulgar in favour of the design ; and from the prevailing spirit at this time, many

Apprehensions being conceived by some, of a design to weaken the act of Toleration, and the Queen declaring her resolution to support it,

of the dissenters were filled with apprehensions of a design to repeal or at least to weaken the act of toleration ; but a new parliament being elected, the Queen in her speech declared her resolution to maintain the indulgence by law allowed to scrupulous consciences, whereupon a committee of the people called Quakers waited upon her with the following address :

" To

" To Queen Anne of Great Britain, &c.

" The humble and thankful Address of the ^{1710.}
 " Queen's protestant subjects, the people The people called Quakers, in and about the city of London, on behalf of themselves and the rest of their persuasion.
 " called Quakers, in and about the city of
 " London, on behalf of themselves and the
 " rest of their persuasion.

" When we consider the Queen's royal regard
 " to protect our religious liberty, and the fresh
 " assurance from the throne of her christian resolu-
 " tion to maintain the indulgence by law al-
 " lowed to scrupulous consciences, and her ten-
 " der care that the same may be transmitted to
 " posterity in the protestant succession in the house
 " of Hanover, we find ourselves concerned
 " gratefully to acknowledge her goodness there-
 " in, and the ready concurrence of her great
 " council therewith.

" Taking this occasion to assure the Queen of
 " our duty and affection and peaceable behaviour
 " under her government, as is our principle, and
 " hath always been our practice.

" And we heartily desire our fellow-subjects
 " may lay aside all animosities, and in a spirit of
 " love and meekness, endeavour to outdo each
 " other in virtue and universal charity.

" That it may graciously please almighty God
 " to defend and bless thee, O Queen ! and guide
 " thee by his counsel in a long and prosperous
 " reign here, and afterwards receive thee to
 " glory, is the hearty prayer of thy faithful sub-
 " jects.

1710.

To this Address the Queen answered,

“ I thank ye for your address, and ye may depend upon my protection.”

Account of
John Banks.

This year died John Banks, who was born of honest parents, in the parish of Iffel in Cumberland. In early youth he was convinced of the principle of the divine light in the heart, not by the preaching of men, but the inward conviction of his own mind, and brought to an acquaintance therewith before he had any acquaintance amongst the people called Quakers, or heard their doctrine preached ; but by a motion in his own mind, he was incited to go to a meeting of the said people, in consequence whereof he went to their meeting at Pardshaw, where very few words were spoken ; but a paper was read therein, which had a considerable effect upon him, being pertinently applicable to his condition. And through diligent attention to the ingrafted word, which is able to save the soul, he experienced a growth in sanctification, and was prepared for the reception of the gifts of the spirit : in the year 1663 he appeared in the ministry and visited some of the meetings in the neighbouring counties ; and in the year 1668, being more deeply experienced in the work of religion, he was made willing to forsake all, to perform his duty in the service of his maker and the cause of truth, travelling into the southern and western counties, and in a great degree devoted the future time of his life to the like beneficial purpose. He laboured zealously in the promulgation of the gospel, both in several

ral parts of England, in Scotland, and Ireland * C H A P. several times over, to the edification of the society of his friends and the convincement of others, who remained witnesses to the efficacy of his ministry and as seals thereof.

xvi.

1710.

In the year 1679, he felt it his duty to go forth under a pressing concern of mind into those counties and places, where the separation begun by † Wilkinson and J. Story had got ground, to bear his testimony against that spirit of separation which had its life in contention and discord. He first went with Christopher Story for his companion, to the yearly meeting in London, where (he writes) “the love and life of pure religion “ was in dominion, so that the opposing spirit was “ never once able to lift up its head; an agreeable harmony prevailed throughout, the power “ of God being over all.” From London they turned westward through Berkshire and Wiltshire to Bristol; here he passed along under a deep travail and anxiety of soul by day and by night, that the deceitfulness and error of the spirit of separation, which sought to divide and make parties in the society, might be made manifest, and

* See vol. 2, p. 479.

† It may be proper to observe, there were at this time two persons of the name of John Wilkinson in the society, or under the name of Quakers, viz. John Wilkinson of Cumberland, who had been a priest of Brigham, and had two parishes more; he was convinced by the ministry of G. Fox in 1657, became an approved minister among the people called Quakers, and many were convinced by him: He travelled into the South and West of England, with J. Banks for his companion in 1668; and continued a faithful man till the day of his death in 1675. The other John Wilkinson of Westmoreland, principally known in our history for his opposition and separation.

C H A P. and that the innocent might be preserved from
xvi. being entangled or hurt by it, insomuch that he
~~ could take little refreshment of food or sleep; not-
17^{10.} withstanding which he was so supported with the spi-
ritual strength and the authority of the gospel in
his testimony, that although some of these separatists
were highly provoked, railed at him behind his
back, threatened to give him public opposition,
and for that purpose followed him from meeting
to meeting ; yet the power which supported him,
and evidently attended his testimony, chained
them down, so that when the time came, they had
no ability to put their threats in execution. He
passed through those parts, labouring in the mi-
nistry to the comfort and edification of the
church, and the increase of peace in his own
mind.

He had a share also in the sufferings attendant
on his profession in this persecuting age, both in
imprisonment and the loss of goods. In the year
1662, George Fletcher, a justice of peace, came
to a meeting at Howhill in Sowerby parish, rush-
ing in a hostile manner, with a retinue armed
with swords and pistols, and finding John Banks
on his knees, the justice struck him over the
head, and when he continued praying, ordered
him to be pulled down backward, and caused
him and others to be dragged down the hill, in
a violent and cruel manner, and afterwards sent
them to Carlisle jail. At the ensuing sessions
some were fined 10l. and the rest 5l. each, and
distraints made to considerably more than the
value. ^a In the year 1683 several informers came
to the meeting at Pardshaw-Cragg, and found
Peter Fearon preaching : They applied to justice
Fletcher,

^a Besle, vol. I.

Fletcher, who fined him 20l. and ordered it to C H A P. be levied on himself and several others who were present, among whom John Banks was one : And although Peter desired the whole might be charged on himself, he being of sufficient ability, the justice persisted in his design, and issued his warrants for distress, whereby goods to the amount of 7l. 10s. were taken from John Banks. When these goods were exposed to sale, and no purchasers could be found, this justice ordered his own servants to purchase some of them, which they did at a very low price ; and the officers to supply the defect made further seizures, whereby the value of the distrains at last amounted to 35l.

XVI.

1710.

This justice Fletcher seems to have entertained a particular enmity against this reputable man, impelling him to every measure in his power, to distress him and his family in their outward circumstances : For at the very time he granted the above-said warrant for distraining his goods for his arbitrary fine, being an impro priator, he was carrying on a severe prosecution against him for tithes. John Banks being subpoenaed to answer his bill, because, from his conscientious scruple, he could not put in his answer upon oath, was run to a contempt, upon which he was arrested at the very same time, that the officers and informers with their assistants, to the number of twelve, came to his house to execute Fletcher's warrant of distress^b.

He was committed to prison in Carlisle jail, where he was detained six years and nine months, during which time he received much rude

^b J. Banks's journal.

CHAP. rude treatment and abuse from the jailer and
xvi. his deputy by his order ; being instigated there-
to, first by his own vexation, because John and
1710. his friends and fellow-prisoners hesitated to gra-
tify his avaricious disposition, in taking chambers
from him at his price ; and secondly, by the
priests and magistrates of the city, who were dis-
turbed and exasperated at John Banks, because
the friends in prison keeping up their meetings,
particularly on the first day of the week, he fre-
quently felt a concern to preach among them,
and standing near the casement, which opened
to the street, his testimony could be heard by
the citizens as they came from their worship.
This exasperated both the priests (of which there
were a considerable number in that place)
and the magistrates, as the people in passing
would frequently stand to hear him : In order
to put a stop thereto, the mayor of the city, ac-
companied by some of the aldermen and others,
came into their meeting in the prison one first
day while John was preaching, and in great pas-
sion commanded him to be silent, shaking his
wand at him, and threatening to gag him. But neit-
her his passion nor his menaces could effect his pur-
pose ; John intimating to him, that he conceived he
had his commission from a superior power ; and
that as mayor he had no authority to molest him
and his companions in confinement ; they were
the king's prisoners, and in safe custody. With
some further menaces the mayor and his com-
pany departed, and gave them no further molesta-
tion in person.

But there is reason to presume they gave a
charge to the jailer and his turnkey, to endea-
vour

vour to prevent him from preaching, even by violence. The turnkey generally watched their meetings, and as soon as he heard John Banks's voice, would drag him by force out of the room to some other place, and confine him there till after the meeting was ended. The turnkey at other times would endeavour to prevent his speaking, by putting his hat over his face; hooting to drown his voice; clapping his hands on his mouth, and such like rough treatment. Once finding him on his knees at prayer, being urged by the jailer, who was also present, this turnkey pulled him off his knees, threw him down, and endeavoured to drag him by force along the ground, which not being able to do, the jailer came to his assistance, and then they jointly pulled him away, and shut him up in a noisome smoaky room over the brew-house, in which he was locked up several times; at one time three days and two nights without a bed of any kind to lie down upon.

The jailer finding these harsh measures ineffectual to compass their design of silencing him, had recourse to remonstrance, reprepresenting to John "that the priests, mayor and aldermen of the city were greatly displeased, and threatened to fine him for suffering him to preach, and his friends to hold conventicles in the jail, proposing their removal to another house from the street, or at least to the further end of the room, where he might not be heard." In reply to this, John Banks, who conceived his ministry not restricted to his friends and fellow-prisoners; but that it was to be also exercised to call the inhabitants to repentance as opportunity offered,

xvi.

1710.

C H A P. offered, signified, “ That as his prisoner he
xvi. “ should be subject to him, let him put him
~~ “ where he would ; but as to matters of religi-
1710. “ ous duty he could own no subjection to him
“ or them ; but to the clear discovery of the
“ light in his own mind only.” The jailer
and his deputy therefore returned to their former
practice of haling, confining and personal abuse,
whereby his body was much bruised and his health
impaired.

The jailer, although he pretended at times to palliate his severity, under the fear of the resentment of the magistrates and priests, could not forbear at other times to give vent to his own private resentments on the subject that touched him more closely, because they did not take their diet and lodgings from him at extravagant rates, abusing them with opprobrious language, calling them rogues, rascals and cheating knaves, menacing them with the smoaky loft and common jail, and charging the turnkey to let them out on no occasion, not even to buy victuals, which charge was pretty strictly observed, insomuch, that for some time they were hard put to it to provide necessaries for themselves.

The jailer not fully gratified by this severity, or not finding it answer his purpose, in a few weeks proceeded to put his menace in execution, by thrusting John Banks and another friend into the common jail amongst the felons and poor debtors, at a time when it was so crowded, that there was no convenient room to sit or lie down, and J. Banks was in an ill state of health, having been indisposed for some time before ; upon which

which account one of his fellow-prisoners made C H A P. this remonstrance to the jailer, "If this friend shall XVI.
" die through thy cruelty and hard usage, his blood ~~~~~
" will be required at thy hands :" The jailer, with 1710.
all the unfeelingness of such officers, replied, " he
" did not care if J. Banks never stood upon his
" feet again, he would put him into the common
" jail ;" which he did, where J. Banks and his
companion were obliged to sit all night near the
sink, the common receptacle of the filth and ex-
crements of the prisoners. And when they got
some straw to lie on, they had only the wet
ground to lay it on, close by the noisome sink.
He was confined here sixteen days and nights,
during which time his wife (with other friends)
coming twenty miles to visit him in prison, she
requested of the jailer, that he would permit her
husband to come to her in some place more con-
venient than the common jail ; but as divested of
all tenderness, he refused her, and sent her
word, " If she wanted to see him, she might in
" the common jail, but no where else." She
continued with him there one night and part of
the next day, a sympathizing witness of the hard-
ships he underwent.

When the jailer found he could not by any contrivance effect his purpose, to procure cham-
ber-rent from him and his friends, growing
uneasy in his mind from a troubled conscience,
he brought John back to his fellow-prisoners,
after a confinement of two weeks and upwards in
the dark dungeon.

And when he could neither by these harsh
measures make the gain he wanted by these pri-
soners, nor hinder John Banks from preaching,
he,

CHAP. he, being much threatened by the priests, re-
 XVI. moved himself and them to another house, and
 ~~~~~ placed them in rooms backward from the street,  
 1710. where they held their meetings peaceably, without much further molestation from the jailer or any other; who after persecuting them as above described for about six months, seems to have relented, and in process of time to have indulged them with as much liberty as they could expect. John Banks was detained in prison till he was released by King William's act of grace in 1690, seven years wanting three months from his first commitment.

Soon after his release he took another journey into the west, to pay a religious visit to his friends in that quarter, and thence to London, where his service was very acceptable and profitable to many, and the meetings generally very large, all along his friends were respectful and rejoiced to see him again after his long imprisonment.

A few months after his return from this journey, he met, (according to his own expression) with the greatest trial that had ever befallen him, in the removal of his virtuous and well-beloved wife, with whom he had lived in great comfort and near affection twenty-seven years; and whom he characterizes as a meet help to him, a sympathizer in his exercises; a woman industrious and careful in ordering their outward affairs, and in the religious education of their children in his absence: That she was well-beloved amongst her friends and neighbours: bore her sickness with patience; and ended her days in peace the 2d day of 10<sup>mo</sup>, 1691.

In

In the year 1696 he married his second wife C H A P. at Glastonbury in Somersetshire, and fixed his residence in that county, first at Mear, and afterwards at Street. He continued his travels for the promoting a religious concern amongst his brethren, even in his advanced years, when affected with great bodily infirmity. About two months before his decease he paid a religious visit to several meetings of his friends, both those for religious worship and those for discipline, in the care of the poor, widows and orphans, being equally well qualified for service in both ; a man endued with excellent talents for promoting good order, pursuing those things that were just, pure, lovely and of good report. In this last journey at Somerton, in a large meeting, he was raised in his testimony to the admiration of those ; who were acquainted with the infirm state of his health. He continued a considerable length of time in his testimony against outside appearances of religion, destitute of the substance, with perspicuity and just distinction in his doctrine, demonstrating the strength of his memory and mental faculties, and the soundness of his judgment in spiritual matters, being wonderfully supported by divine assistance to preach the word to the consolation, refreshment and edification of the meeting.

His zeal for the promotion of truth and righteousness removed from his thoughts the present consideration of his bodily infirmity. His natural strength was, by his exertion, so far weakened, that it was a task sufficient for two men to lead him from the meeting to his

1710.  
Marries a  
second time,  
and removes  
into Somer-  
setshire.

CHAP. lodging : but he was very cheerful under the  
xvi. feeling of an increase of peace in his bosom,  
for spending his remaining strength in the best  
1710. cause, and signified his inward satisfaction in  
that day's service. He proceeded in his visit to  
Puddimore, and from thence to Yeovil, where  
in a large meeting of friends he was afresh  
divinely influenced in his public service, with a  
lively zeal and quick discerning of the states  
of several present, to which he addressed per-  
tinent doctrine ; and from thence he returned  
home, where he was soon seized with that dis-  
temper of which he died. During the time of  
confinement he frequently said, " Though my  
" pain be great, my soul doth magnify the Lord  
" for his goodness to me". On the 22d of 7th  
month several friends being present, after some  
time spent in silence, he exhorted them to a  
diligent attendance of meetings for worship,  
both on first days, and other days of the week,  
set apart for that purpose ; also their quarterly  
and monthly meetings for discipline, expressing  
his great love to friends of Glastonbury and  
Street, to whom he had been a good example  
in the diligent attendance of meetings, which  
he now recommended, adding, " Although I  
" am weak in body, and know not whether I  
" may live much longer, yet I am strong in  
" the Lord and the power of his might, and  
" have nothing to do but to die." To a young  
man that came with some other friends to see  
him he said, " Art thou the young man that  
" lives at Somerton, lately convinced of the  
" blessed truth?" He answered, " Yes." " The  
" Lord be with thee," continued John Banks,  
" and I desire thee in the love of God to  
" give

“ give up in obedience to the working of the spirit of God in thy heart, and then he will do great things for thee; and do not thou stumble at the cross, for the more thou lookest at it, and puttest it off, the harder will it be to thee to take it up.”

xvi.

1710.

Much more good advice, during his sickness, he imparted to those who came to see him, with a favour of life and power which greatly affected those to whom it was addressed. His last expressions on record were, “ All is well with me, I have nothing to do but to die, and I shall end in the truth as I began.”

William Crouch, according to his best calculation, was born on the 5th day of the 2d month called April 1628, in a small village called Penton by Weyhill, near Andover in Hampshire. His father was a substantial yeoman, of good repute in the country, and well beloved in his neighbourhood. His mother was a religious woman, and one of the people in that day called Puritans. She was a watchful guardian over her children, to preserve them from evil either in word or action; and would often call them together to pray with them, and for them by day or by night, as she found seasonable opportunities, wherein she hath left a good example to others of her sex who are mothers of children.

Account of William Crouch.

He is religio-  
nously educated.

His father was taken off in the prime of life, leaving his children young; and the civil war arising soon after unsettled the family, and deprived him of his share of his father's property, and also of the advantage of learning, which otherwise he might have had. He re-

## HISTORY OF THE

CHAP. moved to London in 1646, and bound himself  
XVI. apprentice there.

<sup>1710.</sup> Careful of his company.  
His religious education was not lost upon him, for in all the changes of situation he was preserved in a good degree of innocence and sobriety from many temptations and evils incident to youth. Careful of his company, he shunned the converse of such as indulged in excess, rudeness and dissipation, and chose for his associates such as were religiously disposed and sober in their conduct.

He diligently attended the ministry of such public preachers as were in the greatest reputation for wisdom and piety; he often wrote their sermons, and was sometimes much affected, and on his return home would spend his time in retirement and prayer. Yet not knowing the Lord was so near him as he was, he witnessed little growth of grace in his heart, or power over his affections and lusts; but was sometimes overcome by temptation, and allure to vanity and folly, which afterwards proved a burden and uneasiness to his soul; yet in great mercy he was followed closely with the reproofs of instruction, which he found by experience to be the way to life.

<sup>He begins to frequent the meetings of the people called Quakers.</sup> In the year 1656 he first began to frequent the meetings of the people called Quakers, being convinced in his judgment of the truth of their principles; and as he gave heed to that grace and truth which they testified of, he was not only convinced speculatively of the truth of their testimony, but experimentally convinced by the operation of this light and grace in himself, that God, by his good spirit, was nigh at hand, a discoverer of the thoughts and intents

tents of the heart, and a reprover in secret for every evil way, word and thought, and by his light in his conscience a discoverer also of the way to escape temptation. Through the illumination of this divine light he saw sin to be exceeding sinful, and that godly sorrow was produced in him, which brings repentance not to be repented of.

A friend that well knew him testifies, His treasure was in heaven, and as for the treasure of this world he set no value upon it, further than to be his servant for necessary uses, and to extend in charity to the indigent. His charity was amply and variously diffused, and he was always disposed, with already mind, to assist such as were in affliction or distress of any sort, where either his advice or purse was wanting.

He looked upon himself not so much a proprietor of the temporal treasure Divine Providence had blessed him with, as a steward, and accountable to the Lord of the universe for his stewardship, and therefore his care and endeavour was to be found faithful in the discharge of the trust committed to him.

*That love of money,* which the apostle declares to be the root of all evil, being the foundation of uncharitableness, he looked upon with such aversion, that he published a treatise under the title of *The enormous Sin of Covetousness detected*, informing the reader in the preface, that *it was not ambition to appear in print that incited him to that undertaking, but a sincere and just abhorrence of that crying sin.*

And as he was exemplary in shewing mercy to the poor, and in helping and relieving the weak and afflicted, so he was equally conspicuous

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1710.

CHAP.ous for his punctuality and uprightness in commerce, doing justice to all, fulfilling his contracts, and paying his just debts in due time, and doing to all men as he would wish others to do to him. He was clearly shewn what he should do, and acted in obedience to the divine discovery, *to do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly before God.*

The year before his death he wrote to his children a concise but comprehensive paper or epistle of christian counsel, which might remain as a testimony of his paternal regard and affectionate concern for them when he should be no more, viz.

“ The 7th 2<sup>mo.</sup> 1709.

“ You, my children all, I charge you love  
 “ God above all; love one another, live in  
 “ peace one with another; avoid all appearances  
 “ of discord; remember you are brethren; see  
 “ that you fall not out by the way in your  
 “ travel and pilgrimage. Seek not a rest here,  
 “ but pass on to that city of rest which God  
 “ hath prepared for his people. Be exemplary  
 “ in your lives and conversations; keep truth  
 “ and it will keep you, and give you an inher-  
 “ itance with the saints in light. Be watchful  
 “ over one another for good, and as much as  
 “ in you lies live peaceably with all men. And  
 “ the God of peace bless you and prosper you,  
 “ and make you a comfort to yourselves, and  
 “ one to another, which is the earnest prayer  
 “ and cry of my soul to God.

“ Your loving father,

“ WILLIAM CROUCH.”

He, like most of the rest of his brethren, C H A P. was repeatedly a sufferer both in his person and property. He was once cited to appear at Christ Church (so called) to answer the present-<sup>1710.</sup> His suffer-  
ments of the church wardens, and for not ap-<sup>ing.</sup> pearing he understood he was excommunicated, but they proceeded against him no further.

But not long after, in the year 1661, he was chosen scavenger of Broad-street ward, and for declining to take the oath of office was committed to the Poultry compter; and for refusing to pay fees and what they call garnish money, he was shut up in a hole among the common poor prisoners, where he had no lodging, and but very little room to walk, when the prisoners were locked up at night. Some-time after he obtained his discharge by an application to John Frederick, mayor of the city.

In about three months after he was arrested at the suit of the parish called St. Bennet Fink, as he was informed, for tithes or wages for the priest Samuel Clark, and was again committed to the Poultry compter, where he was continued in confinement about one year and three quarters; but through favour of the jailer he got liberty sometime to go home to superintend his business,

In the year 1665, during the time of the plague, the perfecution, as hath been obſerved, did not ceafe\*, but the jails in and about the city of London continued to be crowded with fresh prisoners, infected as they were, and amongst others it fell to the lot of this friend

10

\* See vol. ii, p. 140.

H A P. to be imprisoned. He was at Peel meeting on  
 XVI. the third day of the week, where about the  
 ~~~~~ number of sixteen were assembled ; for, what  
 1710. through the number confined by the sickness
 and in prison, the meetings were frequently
 small ; for these reasons only, and no declen-
 sion in the zeal of friends, who continued to
 attend them diligently through all the attendant
 circumstances of discouragement. At this time,
 while a friend was on his knees at prayer, a
 company of trained bands came in, haled the
 friend from his posture in prayer, took the
 whole body assembled to the guard-house near
 Whitehall, where they were kept all night ;
 next morning, refusing to pay 40s. each, arbi-
 trarily demanded of them, as the price of their
 liberty, they were committed by the Duke of
 Albemarle to the Gate-house, Westminster, for
 three months, by the following warrant :

“ You are on sight hereof to take into your
 “ custody Solomon Eccles, Robert Towerland,
 “ Thomas Portland, John Bolsover, Humble
 “ Fletcher, William Crouch, John Pierce and
 “ Christopher Cooke, who are guilty of being
 “ at an unlawful meeting, and refusing to pay
 “ their fines. Given under my hand this 23d
 “ day of August 1665.

“ ALBEMARLE.

“ To the keeper of the
 “ Gate-house or his
 “ deputy.

“ The officer of the guards is to send a ser-
 “ jeant and four files with them.

Thus

Thus were reputable citizens sent to prison C H A P. by military authority, under a military guard, like vile criminals, and confined in an infected prison, in which, as they were informed, the prisoners were dying of the contagion, four or five in a night. One of these friends, viz. Robert Towerland, was taken off; the rest, through the favour of Divine Providence, escaped.

xvi.
1710.

These appear to have been the last friends imprisoned on the act for banishment in the city of London.

It hath been before remarked, that although sufferings on other accounts sometimes subsided, yet those for tithes and priest's wages were very rarely, if ever, intermitted. This friend had his dwelling-house burned down in the general conflagration, and during the rebuilding, being as an inmate, he was not liable to these demands. But after the city was rebuilt, he seated himself in Grace Church-street, where he was soon called upon for three quarters of a year's wages for John Cliff, called rector of St. Bennet, Grace Church, London, and for a demand of 1l. 19s. had three pieces of white serge taken from him worth 3l. 10s. Some-time after he received 15s. 5d. sealed up in a paper, with an account, debiting him with the unreasonable sum of 15s. 7d. for charges of distaining. When he opened the paper, and found what it contained, he returned the account and money to the priest, saying in a letter to him, "I receive not aught from thee, " nor do I want any thing which thou sellest. " I never made bargain with thee for aught,

" nor

CHAP. " nor never consented to pay thee any thing,
xvi. " how then canst thou deem me thy debtor."

After the last conventicle-act came in force
1710. W. Crouch was exposed to the depredations of
the informers and convicting justices, as ap-
pears by the following warrant :

" To all constables, headboroughs, church-war-
" dens, tithing-men, overseers of the poor,
" bailiffs, and all other his Majesty's officers
" within the said city whatsoever :

" Whereas by the oaths of two credible wit-
" nesses before me, Sir Jonathan Raymond,
" one of his Majesty's justices of the Peace for
" the city aforesaid, there was a conventicle or
" unlawful assembly, held the 13th day of this
" instant June, in a certain meeting in White-
" hart-court by Grace Church-street, in the
" aforesaid city, in the forenoon, wherein were
" a company of persons, all above the age of
" sixteen years, and subjects of this realm, to
" the number of above sixteen more than those
" of the family or household, contrary to the
" act of parliament in that case made and pro-
" vided, amongst whom was William Crouch,
" upholsterer, in Grace Church-street in the
" aforesaid city. In which conventicle or un-
" lawful assembly, to these deponents was a
" person unknown, who did take upon him
" to teach and preach under colour or pretence
" of exercise of religion, in other manner and
" form than according to the liturgy and prac-
" tice of the church of England, whereby the
" penalty of 20l. was forfeited by the preacher
" or teacher as aforesaid ; who being unknown
" as

“ as aforesaid, the penalty by him forfeited C H A P .
 “ ought of consequence to be levied on any XVI.
 “ one person for any one offence, for which
 “ cause I have imposed the fine of ten pounds
 “ for his own offence, and part of the preach-
 “ er’s offence.

~~~~~  
 1712.

“ These are therefore in his Majesty’s name,  
 “ and by virtue of the said act, to command  
 “ you or some of you to levy the said sum of  
 “ 10l. by way of distress and sale of the said  
 “ offender’s goods abovementioned; and if you  
 “ are refused entrance into the house or houses  
 “ in possession of the said William Crouch, af-  
 “ ter you have declared your busines in his  
 “ Majesty’s name, you are hereby required to  
 “ break open all and every the doors, barrica-  
 “ does, &c. belonging to any house or houses  
 “ as aforesaid, and to enter and levy the full  
 “ contents of what you can find towards all  
 “ and every the warrants that you shall be  
 “ charged with, during the time you shall be  
 “ in possession of such premises in pursuance of  
 “ the said statute, and that you return the  
 “ same to me, to be distributed according to  
 “ the said act; and for so doing this shall be  
 “ your warrant. Given under my hand and  
 “ seal this 23d day of June, Anno Regni Ca-  
 “ roli secundi 35. Annoq. Domini 1683.”

Another warrant of the like tenour, bearing date the 21st of April 1684, was issued against him by Thomas Jenner, Recorder of London, to levy ten pounds off his goods by way of distress for the like cause, upon conviction execution issued, without hearing the party informed against. The law we have seen allowed an appeal,

**C H A P.** peal, but such was the management of many  
 XVI. justices, and such the temper of the time, that  
 little right could be procured by appealing.

**1710.** Jenner in particular was a notorious encourager of the informers. In his hands the distress or amount was deposited, and the money upon appeals; and being also the sole judge <sup>w. Crouch.</sup> upon these appeals, upon trial of illegal convictions, he manifested himself a party against the appellant, and instead of fitting to do right and justice, as he ought by his duty and his oath, he would employ every effort of chicanery to baffle the appeal. In this instance, the informers having sworn to a wrong day, the party aggrieved deposited the money charged upon him, and entered his appeal. When it came to a trial with others of the like nature, the witnesses being examined, and the jury gone forth to agree upon their verdict, Jenner also left the bench, and in some small time returned. The jury coming in with their verdicts, this appellant found they had dropped his cause, which was then called over again, in order to a new trial, upon which his counsel advised him to withdraw his appeal, for, said he, they are resolved to carry it; so he suffered the loss of the deposit, and all charges.

Upon this transaction the sufferer makes this observation, “ I have been the more particular in this relation of fact, that the reader may take notice of the combinations of wicked men, who joined hand in hand to secure to themselves the gain of oppression; and according to Isa. lix. 13, 14, 15, *Conceiving and uttering from the heart words of falsehood: Judgment is turned backward, and equity can-*” not

“ not enter : Justice standeth afar off, and truth C H A P.  
“ is fallen in the streets ; and he that departeth XVI.  
“ from evil maketh himself a prey, and the Lord —  
“ saw it, and it displeased him that there was 17<sup>10.</sup>  
“ no judgment.”

I own I have often been ready to admire how this persecuted body of men ever struggled through all the hardships and losses, in person and estate, they sustained for such a length of time, under the hands of unreasonable men vested with arbitrary power, that the whole of their substance particularly was not swallowed up by the spoilers : And how can it be accounted for better than they themselves with thankfulness have done ; acknowledging the goodness of the Divine Being with them in all their sufferings, and his blessing greatly prospering the labour of their hands in their outward occupations and their commercial engagements ; favoured with his peace in reward for their patience and fidelity, hardships were made easy to them ; and his providential hand attending their industry and frugality, compensated all their losses, so that with many they were soon made up ; and it appears certain that great numbers were, notwithstanding all they lost, blest with a sufficiency of the things of this life to content for their own use, and to spare abundantly for the help of others, of which number this worthy man was one ; while at the same time their spoilers reaped little advantage from their plunder ; it wasted away strangely, as if to them it were an accursed thing. They lived, many of them, in infamy, and died in poverty and wretchedness.

As

**C H A P.** As he advanced in years he became infirm;  
**xvi.** being severely afflicted with *fits of the stone* for  
**1710.** about two years before his death, which he bore  
with much patience, meekly submitting to the  
divine will, without murmuring or complaining  
in the least.

About nine months before his own departure, and at a time when his distemper was sharp upon him, he met with an additional severe affliction in the removal of his wife, a woman of singular piety and virtue, with whom he had lived fifty years and upwards in much comfort, being united in the fear of their Creator, and sincere affection to each other. The loss of a relation so well and so deservedly beloved, of whom he gave this testimony, that *she would deny herself to a very great degree to serve him, beyond what he could ask or expect from her,* could not but make a deep impression upon him; but such was his resignation to the will of his Heavenly Father, that he possessed his soul in patience, acknowledging with Job, "that the "Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, " blessed be the name of the Lord."

And as the time of his own dissolution approached, being, through divine mercy, well prepared for it, and patiently waiting for the accomplishment thereof, he often admired the goodness of God to him, in inclining his mind to seek after righteousness from his youth, and in preserving him through the whole course of his life to old age. He often retired in prayer; and when he saw his children in affliction for him, he exhorted them *not to desire his life, for he was through age and weakness incapable of being*

*being serviceable according to his desire; and that C H A P.  
he had done his day's work in his day.*

XVI.

1710.

The day before he died, a friend who had paid him several visits in his sickness, went to see him, and sitting sometime with him, was influenced to pray on his behalf, and they were greatly comforted together. William expressed his great satisfaction in that visit, and said *he had nothing to do but to die, and was waiting for the time when it should please God to call him out of this miserable world, and take him to his eternal rest.*

The night following he took his solemn leave of his children, who were then present, telling them, He now thought he had but little time, and the time which he so greatly desired and waited for was near at hand, in which he rejoiced, praying that his change might be made easy, that so his patience might hold out to the end; and his request was mercifully granted him.

Thus in a good old age he terminated a well-spent life, at the age of eighty-two, the 13th of the 11th month, 1710.

*Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright,  
for the end of that man is peace. Psal. xxxvii.*

37.

C H A P.

## C H A P. XVII.

*Bill against occasional Conformity.—Friends at Frederickstadt under Sufferings by War.—Address upon the Conclusion of Peace.—The Magistrates of Aberdeen make a By-law to disfranchise Quakers.—Order of Privy Council thereupon.—Act against the Growth of Schism.—Representation of the People called Quakers against it.—The Bill passed.—Rendered ineffectual by the Queen's Death.*

C H A P. **T**H E temper of the people and of the new parliament seemed to present a favourable opportunity again to introduce the bill against occasional conformity, which after repeated ineffectual attempts was passed this year, wherein it is enacted, “ That if any person in office, “ who by the laws are obliged to qualify themselves by taking the sacraments, shall ever resort to a meeting of Dissenters during the time of their continuing in office, they shall forfeit twenty pounds for every such offence, “ and be disqualified for any office for the future, till they have made oath that they have entirely conformed to the church, and have not been at any conventicle for the space of a whole year.” Upon this act, John Penry, a justice of peace of Aldborough in the county of Suffolk, was prosecuted by one Wall, a bailiff of the place. The case was this: the said justice going to the parish church, understood by

by the way, that there would be no service there C H A P.  
that day, and hearing that there was a meeting XVII.  
of the people called Quakers he went to it. ~~~~~  
Wall being informed thereof, and apprehending  
the justice had transgressed the law, and expect-  
ing to make some gain of the information, com-  
menced a suit in the name of one that lived  
upon alms; but when it came to be tried the  
man was disappointed. Baron Lovel, the judge,  
expounded the meaning of the act, " that it  
" did not affect those who accidentally went into  
" a meeting of Dissenters, but such as con-  
" formed to the church to qualify themselves  
" for an office without changing their religion." But this was a different case, as the priest of  
the parish gave a certificate that the said justice  
was a good member of the church. Upon the  
present apparent circumstances the prosecution  
was dropped for fear of being condemned in  
costs, if a verdict should be brought in.

An occurrence in this year evidenceth the universal sympathy and brotherly kindness of the members of this society with and towards each other wherever situated, and the calamitous distresses brought upon innocent people by the irrational ambition of princes, in spreading the desolation of war for the sole purpose of gratifying their lust of power.

Some of the inhabitants of Frederickstadt in 1692.  
Holstein having been convinced of the principles Friends at  
of the people called Quakers, and continued in Frederick-  
that community, had a pretty large meeting stadt under  
in that town. The Swedes having broken into suffering by  
war. Holstein were closely followed by the Muscovites  
and Danes; Frederickstadt was full of Russian  
soldiers

CHAP. soldiers quartered upon the inhabitants, who  
 xvii. being greatly distressed thereby, the meeting for  
 sufferings in London, feeling for their brethren  
 1712. here under their distressing trials, had written to  
 friends of Holland and Germany to visit them,  
 and inform the said meeting of their circum-  
 stances, in order that the requisite relief might  
 be administered, and received a narrative of  
 their sufferings in two letters from Jacob Hagen  
 of Hamburgh, and also another from friends of  
 Frederickstadt, copies of which are here inserted,  
 as follow :

“ Hamburg, 24<sup>th</sup> of 12<sup>th</sup> month, 1712.

“ Here follows a short relation of my journey  
 “ to Frederickstadt.

“ The Czar is there with his generals, and  
 “ about 4000 men are quartered upon the inha-  
 “ bitants of the place, from ten, twenty to thirty  
 “ men in a family, and one or two officers,  
 “ and some less; they quarter themselves as  
 “ they please, use great insolence, and are also a  
 “ great burthen to the inhabitants, hardly toler-  
 “ able, in the charge of maintaining them with  
 “ provisions, &c. which are very dear, one  
 “ pound of butter 10s. and 12s. to 14s. and  
 “ hardly to be had, twenty eggs 20s. to 24s.  
 “ and no firing to be had for money, which  
 “ causeth great uneasiness; the city so dirty  
 “ that there is hardly any passing the streets  
 “ without boats: the horses are kept in the  
 “ lower rooms of the house, and above stairs  
 “ it is full of people and their baggage. Last  
 “ first

“ first day the Czar acquainted our friends he C H A P.  
 “ was desirous to come to their meeting, but xvii.  
 “ they replied, the meeting-house was taken       
 “ up with about twenty or thirty soldiers, who 1712.  
 “ had made it like a stable; we desired that it  
 “ might be evacuated, then we might keep our  
 “ meeting, so he immediately gave orders for  
 “ them to go out, and he came in the after-  
 “ noon with about six or seven of his princes  
 “ and generals, and sat with us still, and it  
 “ seemed with much patience; Philip De Neer  
 “ had a few words, and he staid with us about  
 “ an hour, to the admiration of many. So this  
 “ is a short relation concerning Frederick-  
 “ stadt.

“ The country people are mostly ruined and  
 “ destitute, houses and land destroyed, horses  
 “ and cattle taken away; the miserable state  
 “ is hardly to be written as it is in reality.  
 “ The war is likely to be continued longer  
 “ than was expected now the Swedes have  
 “ entered the city of Toningen, but the King of  
 “ Denmark hath seized the whole dukedom  
 “ besides.”

“ Hamburg, 7<sup>th</sup> of 1<sup>st</sup> month, 1712.

“ The war in Holstein is yet continued, to  
 “ the great oppression of the inhabitants both  
 “ in country and cities, especially by the Mus-  
 “ covites, who are extremely cruel and turbu-  
 “ lent; and what adds thereto, is their being  
 “ of different languages, which makes their  
 “ conversation very troublesome; they use great

CHAP. XVII. "exaction on the country people, many of whom have been so misused, even some of my acquaintance, that with wife and children they have left their habitations, having nothing left; and the longer the Swedes continue in Toningen, the worse it will be for the country and inhabitants. They demand of Frederickstadt a contribution of 30,000 rix dollars, now they are fallen to 20,000; but neither the first, nor yet the last is possible to be complied with. Prince Menzikoff hath allowed him for his table 100 per day; it is but a small place, and the inhabitants have 3 or 4000 men quartered upon them, so it yet seems total ruin must be the consequence, if no sudden alteration happen, which is to be desired. Most of the horses and cattle are ruined or driven away, and it is impossible to describe the miserable state and sore visitation, which is over those places. As to friends in general, I mentioned in mine of the 24th past of my having been there; they are still pretty well; some have more quartered upon them than others, but now in this time of continuance every one will find his full share of the burthen. It was not unserviceable to them, that it came in the Czar's mind to go to meeting as he did, for since that time the meeting-house is kept free, which before was full of Muscovites; and the Czar, as well as some of his officers, have received of friends books, that is, Robert Barclay's Catechism and another treatise, so that some begin now to enquire after the Apology, which I have this day sent for from Holland. Friends, as well

“ well as other inhabitants, have their full free- C H A P.  
“ dom, and the Muscovites make no difference, XVII.  
“ if they get their bellies full, where they are       
“ quartered. And as concerning your ardour 1712.  
“ in being helpful and assisting to friends, I  
“ shall endeavour the same further, as I have  
“ already done, in consideration of the great  
“ need there was and is, and shall desire my  
“ brother to inform me, wherein I can be  
“ most serviceable to them, and advise you what  
“ passeth, so conclude with my dear love and  
“ salutation to you and friends in general.

“ I remain,

“ JACOB HAGEN.”

### A Letter from Friends at Frederickstadt.

“ To the Friends, Fathers and Elders at London.

“ Dear Friends,

“ We received your letter dated 26th of 12<sup>th</sup>  
“ month, English stile, which was read in our  
“ public meeting the 26th, our stile, and we are  
“ rejoiced to find your continued love and care  
“ for the honour of God, and our welfare in  
“ the Lord, in this time of deep exercise over  
“ this poor country and to us, which yet con-  
“ tinueth, for few people account any thing  
“ they have their own, being disposseſſed of houſe  
“ and land, many houſes and dwellings in the  
“ country

C H A P. " country being laid in ruins, and the country-  
xvii. " man is forced to part with his horses and  
~~~ " cattle, and the land lieth unplowed in many  
1712. " places. By the great number of soldiers that
" are here (according to human prospects) there
" is like to follow nothing but utter ruin and
" poverty, except the Lord by his omnipotency
" make way for us, whose hand is not shortened
" nor power bounded. As to us the Lord hath
" been very gracious unto this very day, giving
" us a heart of resignation, and our daily bread
" he hath not withdrawn; also rendering unto
" us his heavenly mercies daily, blessed be his
" holy name. In what manner the Lord pleased
" to work for the delivering of our meeting-
" house from the soldiers who had possessed the
" same, we hope you have had account before
" this time, viz. that he inclined the heart of
" the great Czar to come to our meeting in
" person, who immediately ordered the meet-
" ing-house to be evacuated by the soldiers,
" which was done accordingly, and we had a
" good comfortable meeting with him, and seve-
" ral of his princes and great men of his retinue,
" whereof an account is given to the friends of
" Holland; and our friend Jacob Hagen was
" here at the same time an eye-witness with us,
" and we enjoy our meeting peaceably to this
" day, and friends continue agreeably to meet
" together therein as much as this time of ex-
" ercise will suffer us. We dearly salute you
" in a feeling sense of that brotherly union in
" the everlasting truth of our God, according to
" our measures; remember us in your prayers
" to God, and it will be very acceptable to
" receive

“ receive another letter from you. We remain C H A P.
“ your tender friends and brethren,

XVII.

~~~~~  
1713.

“ PHILIP DENEER,

“ JERONIMUS HAGEN.

“ RAZANT CLOISUM.

“ JAN VAN KEMP.

“ MICHAEL WITTEMBERG, &amp;c.

“ Frederickstadt, 11th of 4<sup>th</sup> month,  
“ 1713, new stile.”

The war which had been carried on by England, in conjunction with the Emperor and the Dutch against France, ever since the beginning of the Queen's reign, was terminated this year. On the 13th of 3<sup>d</sup> month, O. S. commonly called May, a treaty of peace between England, France and Holland, was signed at Utrecht. The parliament being convened, the Queen in her speech informed them, that she had now concluded a peace, had obtained a further security for the protestant succession, and was in an entire union with the house of Hanover. Addresses of congratulation being procured and sent up from all or most parts of the nation, the people called Quakers, whose principles led them on all occasions to rejoice and approve the establishment of peace, on the present occasion presented the following address to the Queen :

“ To

C H A P. " To Anne, Queen of Great Britain, &c.

XVII.

1713.

" The humble address of her Protestant Dissenting subjects, called Quakers, met at our annual meeting in London, the 3d day of the 4<sup>th</sup> month, called June, 1713.

" May it please the Queen,

Address of  
the Quakers  
thereupon.

" We having been sorrowfully affected at the calamity which war brought on Europe, cannot but express our satisfaction and gladness for the Queen's great care and christian concern for establishing so long desired a peace.

" We are also under a dutiful sense of the Queen's gracious government and compassion manifested towards tender consciences at home, as well as her Christian interposition in favour of persecuted Protestants abroad.

" And farther crave leave to assure the Queen, that we shall, as in duty bound, approve ourselves in all humility and faithfulness the Queen's obedient subjects; and though but a small part of those that enjoy, under thy mild government, protection in religious and civil liberty, we cannot but earnestly pray for and desire the quiet and safety of our country, which evidently appears to be the Queen's care to establish, in having done so much for securing the Protestant interest and maintaining perfect friendship with the House of Hanover.

" That it may please Almighty God in his mercy and goodness to assist with his wisdom the Queen in all her councils, and give her long to enjoy the quiet fruit of lasting peace in this life, and in that which is to come joy and peace everlasting, is our hearty and fervent prayer."

Thomas

Thomas Ellwood of Hungerhill, near Ag-**C H A P.**  
mondesham in Buckinghamshire, in the course **XVII.**  
of this year closed a life, which had been very **1713.**  
much devoted to the attainment of religious  
experience, and also to the service of religious  
society, both in the county of his residence and  
in the community at large. He was born at  
Crowell near Thame in Oxfordshire in the year  
1639. His father, Walter Ellwood, was origi-  
nally possessed of a competent real estate, and  
an equivalent personal property, which he in-  
herited in right of his mother.

Favouring the parliamentary cause, though  
not openly espousing it in arms, he thought  
himself too insecure in the place of his then  
residence, as the King's garrisons were in pos-  
session of that quarter; he therefore removed  
with his family to London, where the parlia-  
ment had the predominancy, as a place of safety;  
Thomas was then about two years of age,  
and continued in London till after the surrenders  
of Oxford, when the war being apparently at  
an end he returned to his estate at Crowell, by  
which time the expense of living in London had  
well nigh exhausted what money he was pos-  
sessed of.

After the family's return to the country,  
Thomas was sent with his elder brother to the  
free-school at Thame, (a school at that time in  
reputation) where he made a speedy proficiency,  
having a natural propensity to learning; and if  
he had been continued there, and had been  
advanced to higher studies as his genius should  
expand, he would in all probability have made  
an excellent scholar; but upon the settlement  
of

CHAP. of the republican government his father accepted the office of a justice of peace, and put himself into a manner of living comporting with the dignity of his office, at the same time removing his elder son from school to Merton college in Oxford, and entering him there in the highest and most chargeable rank of a fellow commoner, he found himself obliged to retrench his expenses in some other cases. One article of retrenchment was very unfavourable to Thomas's progress in literature; for he was brought home to save the charge of maintaining him at school, and no proper mode of prosecuting his studies provided for him: He had made a considerable progress in Latin, and was entered into the study of the Greek language; but this curtailing of the expense of his education was nearly a throwing away of the expense already incurred therein; for being neglected in this business of importance at home, and left too much to himself to employ himself in study or amusement, in books or in pleasure at his option, the propensity of youth carried him with avidity after the latter, such as the place afforded, and his circumstances could reach, which drew off his attention from his books, till they were laid aside; he now lost all he had learned at school to that degree that he could hardly read, much less understand a sentence in Latin.

He now took his swing in vain courses, (as himself expresses) such, however only, as were accounted harmless recreations, entertaining his companions and acquaintance with jocularity and diverting discourses; but he always associated

ciated with persons of ingenuity, temperance C H A P .  
and sobriety : scurrility in conversation he con- xvii.  
sidered as contemptible, and he had a natural  
aversion to immoderate drinking, by which  
means, in the time of his greatest vanity, he  
was preserved from profaneness and gross im- 1713.  
moralities : his reputation was unspotted in the  
eye of the world, and being naturally of a fa-  
cetious, cheerful and liberal turn of mind, of a  
genteel behaviour and address, his company was  
engaging and acceptable to his equals and su-  
periors in rank, opening him an easy access to  
persons of the best note in that country. Lord  
Wenman in particular, to whose lady his mother  
was nearly related, who had bestowed his own  
name upon him, when he made large promises  
for him at the font, always received him as a  
welcome visitant at his table ; and he had reason  
to expect some preferment in the world through  
the friendship of this lord, as soon as he should  
be capable of it, had he not shortly after been  
called to a higher service, and thereby lost the  
favour of all his friends, relations and acquaint-  
ance of this world. During the residence of  
his father and the family in London, he had  
contracted an acquaintance with the lady Springett,  
widow of Sir William Springett, who was  
afterwards married to Isaac Penington : In order  
to keep up the acquaintance, he continued occa-  
sional visits to them in their places of residence  
in the country, particularly when he heard of  
their removal to reside at their own estate at  
Chalfont in Buckinghamshire.

Some time after Isaac Penington and his wife  
had joined in communion with the people called  
Quakers,

CHAP. Quakers, and when this people was become the  
 XVII. subject of much conversation, Thomas Ellwood's  
 1713. father being desirous to inform himself of their  
 principles, determined on a visit to Chalfont,  
 and took his son and two daughters with him ;  
 they met with a kind reception, and spent some  
 days there, and during their stay a meeting be-  
 ing appointed about a mile distant, they were  
 invited to go to it, and readily complied.

To this meeting came Edward Burrough,  
 James Naylor and others ; but Edward Bur-  
 rough only preached in that meeting, near to  
 whom Thomas Ellwood sat, who was deeply  
 affected with his doctrine, for it did not only  
 clearly convince his understanding, but warmed  
 his heart with animated feelings, such as he had  
 never before experienced from the ministry of  
 any man.

The next day they returned home \* ; at their  
 departure Edward Burrough accompanying them  
 to the gate, directed his speech to them severally  
 in a few words, according to the sense he had  
 of their several conditions ; of which this dis-  
 cerning young man appeared to have a clear  
 comprehension. After they were gone off and the  
 family returned into the house, Edward being ask-  
 ed what he thought of them, he answered to this  
 effect : *As for the old man he is settled on his lees,*  
*and the young woman is light and airy ; but the*  
*young man is reached, and may do well if he do not*  
*lose it.*

The impression made on his mind by Edward  
 Burrough's public testimony and private address  
 was

\* Except the eldest daughter, who was gone before by the  
 stage coach to London.

was too deep to be readily erased. In his re-<sup>C H A P.</sup> turn home his mind was greatly affected with serious thoughtfulness and sadness of heart, although as yet he could not distinctly understand the cause: However, he felt a desire to go to another meeting of the Quakers, and upon enquiry hearing of one appointed at High Wycombe, he went thither. It was held in the house of John Raunce, and they had not been long sat in the meeting before a person, to him at that time unknown, but afterwards his intimate friend, Samuel Thornton, stood up to speak. His discourse was suitably adapted to Thomas's state, and reached home as if it had been directed to him.

This meeting he esteemed like the clinching of a nail, confirming and fastening in his mind those good impressions, which it had received in the former. His understanding began to open, and the light, shining out of darkness in some measure, discovered what it was that had before clouded him, and brought that sadness and trouble upon him; that although he had been preserved in a good degree from open immoralities, and the gross pollutions of the world, yet the spirit of the world had hitherto ruled in him, and led him into pride, vanity, flattery and superfluity, all which were naught. He found there were many plants growing in him, which were not of the heavenly father's planting, and that all these (of every kind, and how specious soever) were to be plucked up.

To trace the various conflicts he endured, and the gradations whereby he advanced in the experience of that regeneration, without which Christ declared

XVII.  
1713.

CHAP xvii. declared to Nicodemus, “ no man shall see the kingdom of heaven,” would lead me into an unnecessary prolixity, after similar accounts of the conversion of divers others, previously given in this work. In proportion to his ready obedience to the divine will, manifested by the light in his own mind, he was favoured with the consolation of inward peace ; but from without, his trials were severe and of considerable duration.

For a season after his convincement, and after his declining the customary modes of salutation and address (which he had been before in the practice of) to his associates and others, the veil was not so rent, but that there still remained a cloud on his understanding with respect to his demeanour towards his father, being willing to persuade himself that he ought to put that difference between him and all others, as to deport himself towards him, both in gesture and language, as he had hitherto done. So that his father observing no alteration in his carriage towards himself, found as yet no occasion to take offence at it.

But it was not long before he saw more clearly that the honour due to parents did not consist in uncovering the head, and bowing the body to them ; but in a ready obedience to all their lawful commands, and in performing all needful services unto them ; under this conviction he believed it his duty to behave to his father in this respect, as he, from conscientious conviction, had been persuaded it was right to behave to other people.

His

His father was in no wise pleased at the first C H A P. apprehension he conceived of his son's inclining toward this people; but when he was convinced, by his standing covered before him, that he was really become one of them, he was transported by passion to that degree, that he fell upon him with both his hands, and after beating him violently, plucked off his hat and threw it away. XVII. 1713.

The like occasions drew upon him a repetition of the like treatment several times over, till all his hats, one by one, were taken from him; and he was thereby, and by his father's command, obliged to submit to a kind of imprisonment in his own chamber during a cold winter, and having no hat to wear within or without he contracted a violent cold in his head; which kept him in great pain a considerable time.

After some time of this severe treatment, and close confinement, his kind friends Isaac and Mary Penington returned his father's visit, principally with a view to see how he fared. They had much discourse with his father in relation to their religious principles, and close reasoning in regard to his hard treatment of his son, for which he was quite at a loss to apologize. In conclusion Mary Penington proposed to his father, that since his son's demeanour was offensive, and his company unacceptable to him, he would give him leave to go home with them, and spend some time at their house, where he should meet with a sincere welcome.

Although his father was unwilling to comply, and sought many evasions, yet she prevailed upon him at length to leave Thomas at his liberty, whereby he was released from a pretty long imprisonment

C H A P. prisonment at home ; and going with his friends,  
XVII. he had with them the full enjoyment of that liberty he most desired, the liberty of attending  
1713. the meetings of his friends, both at the place of his present residence, and other places in that neighbourhood.

After some weeks stay with them, where he was treated with the greatest kindness, he returned home, where, although his father did not proceed to the extremity of assaulting him with blows, as he had done before, yet he kept him at a great distance, and through the offence he took at his appearing covered before him, would not admit him to his table, and as seldom as possible to his presence. By the interposition however of his sisters, he now enjoyed more quiet, and took more liberty to go to meetings than he had done before ; he informed himself of the meetings held in that neighbourhood, and many a hard travel he had in all weathers, two, four or five miles on foot through dirty roads. But the ardour of the early members of this society for their own spiritual advantage, and their progress in religious experience, which they felt to be especially promoted in their religious assemblies, as well as their apprehension of duty to worship the supreme Being in that way, which they thought acceptable to him, enabled them to encounter and surmount the attendant difficulties with fortitude and unrelaxed perseverance, while they were at liberty to attend them.

But this friend, with many others of his brethren of this age, was frequently deprived of that liberty by the confinement of his person in prison. His first imprisonment was in the year

1660,

1660, upon the following occasion : He had been C H A P. in London, and on his return calling at J. Pen- XVII. tington's, he met there with Thomas Loe, and from a desire that his neighbours might have an opportunity to hear the gospel preached livingly and powerfully among them, he propos'd to Thomas Loe the appointing of a meeting in the town where he lived ; Thomas, not apprehend- ing himself at his own disposal, did not immediately close in with the proposal, but desired T. Ellwood, if the matter continued with weight upon his mind, and he could get a convenient place, to apprise him thereof by a letter direct- ed to him at Oxford.

Thomas Ellwood having soon after a prospect of procuring a suitable place, wrote to Thomas Loe according to his desire, this being soon after Venner's insurrection, when orders were issued for the stopping and searching of letters, his letter was intercepted and carried to Lord Falkland, Lord Lieutenant of the county; whereupon he was taken up by a body of troopers and carried before two of the deputy lieutenants, who after examination and tendering him the oath of allegiance, committed him to pris'on in Oxford, but I suppose, in regard to his education and the station of his father, who was their neighbour, and apparently their equal in rank, he was not committed to the common pris'on; but to the custody of the marshal, where his imprisonment was easy ; and not of very long continuance.

Soon after his release from this imprisonment he was left at full liberty to go to meetings, or whither he pleased ; for the time appointed for

CHAP the King's coronation being at hand, his father  
XVII.  
1713. with his two sisters went up to London on that  
occasion. His sisters were both disposed of in mar-  
riage; his father also took up his residence in  
the city, and returned no more to Crowell to  
settle, so that Thomas was left in the mansion-  
house to himself, and almost by himself.

He now paid frequent visits to his affectionate  
and hospitable friends at Chalfont; and at this  
time being sensible of, and lamenting the loss of  
his learning, he was incited to employ his lea-  
sure time, when at home at his solitary man-  
sion, in diligent application to recover it;  
but finding it a matter of great difficulty to make  
the advancement he wished, for want of an in-  
structor, he had occasionally expressed his regret  
at this disadvantage to his particular friend Isaac  
Penington, who thereupon interested himself in  
his favour to procure him the instruction he  
wanted, and through the mediation of an inti-  
mate acquaintance of London, obtained per-  
mission for him to attend upon the famous John  
Milton, at his house, to read such books as he  
should appoint, and receive his instructions.  
Milton who had filled a public station under the  
former rulers, now lived a private and retired  
life in London, and being deprived of his sight,  
always kept a person to read to him, which was  
usually the son of some gentleman of his ac-  
quaintance, whom in kindness he took to im-  
prove in his learning. Thomas, as soon as he  
understood this place was open for him, hastened  
to London to put himself under his tuition,  
and was courteously received by him. Having  
provided himself with books and accommoda-  
tions

tions for his studies by his intended master's di- C H A P.  
rections, he spent his mornings in studying in his chamber, and in the afternoon attended Milton, and read to him, and under his instruction was making a speedy proficiency ; but the air of London and close confinement did not agree with his constitution, he lost his health, and in less than two months time was obliged to break off his studies, and return to the country for his recovery.

His recovery was not very sudden, but at length he was mercifully restored to a good state of health ; and then he returned to prosecute his studies in London, and was very kindly received by his master, whose good opinion and cordial regard he had conciliated ; and who was much pleased with his company and conversation, and expressed his satisfaction at his recovery and return ; with him Thomas went on in his former method of study.

But he soon met with another interruption, which put the finishing stroke to his studies there. In the year 1662, as well as the preceding year, a violent persecution was carried on against the dissenters, which (as hath been shewn) fell most heavily on the people called Quakers : Their meetings were broken up, and the prisons crowded with prisoners of this society. On the 26th of the 8<sup>mo</sup>. Thomas Ellwood went to the meeting at Bull and Mouth, which was suddenly disturbed by a party of soldiers or trained bands, commanded by one Major Rosewell, an apothecary, a reputed papist. The soldiers made their entrance, as usual, with noise and clamour ; and further to terrify the assembly, Rosewell command-

CHAP. ed his men to present their muskets : But the assembly kept their places unmoved. The major commanded them to disperse ; but being met, from a persuasion of duty to worship God according to his requirings, they thought, with the apostles, they ought to obey him rather than man, and therefore stirred not at the command of Rosewell ; observing this, Rosewell ordered his soldiers to drag them out, which they did roughly enough. He took above thirty of them, of which number Thomas Ellwood was one, and committed them to prison in old Bridewell, which having been formerly a palace, was no incommodious prison.

This was some time before discipline was settled in the society ; yet an excellent order had been established among friends of that city, in appointing suitable members of the community, male and female, to take the oversight of the prisons in every quarter, and to take care of all friends, the poor especially, that might be committed to any of them.

The prison of Bridewell was under the care of two grave, discreet, motherly women, Anne Merrick and Anne Travers, both widows, who as soon as they understood that there were friends committed to that prison, provided some hot victuals, meat and broth, and ordering their servants to bring these provisions, with bread, cheese and beer, came also themselves, and having placed the provision on the table, gave notice, " that it was provided for all such as had not others to provide for them, or were not able to provide for themselves," and there wanted not a competent number of such guests.

Although

Although Thomas Ellwood's stock was very CHAP. low, yet having had ten pence in his pocket XVII. he did not esteem himself in the description of those for whom the provision was made: Resolving to husband his scanty stock with the utmost frugality, and placing his confidence in divine providence for future subsistence, that good hand in whom he trusted, awakened the sympathy of some of his particular friends with him under his present trial, by whose beneficence he was supplied with more than a sufficiency to support himself during his imprisonment, and after his release was favoured with the means of returning them their advance, with grateful acknowledgments of their kindness.

After about two months imprisonment, Thomas and his fellow prisoners, were brought to the sessions at the Old Bailey. The prisoners complained of the illegality of their imprisonment, (for they were committed and detained by arbitrary power, without the intervention of the civil authority, having never been brought before a civil magistrate.) The court paid no regard to their reasonable complaint; all the satisfaction they received was the following speech of the Recorder, " If you think you have been wrong—  
" fully imprisoned, you have your remedy at  
" law ; and may take it, if you think it worth  
" your while ; the court may send for any man  
" out of the street, and tender him the oath ;  
" so we take no notice how you came hither ;  
" but finding you here, we tender you the oath  
" of allegiance, which if you refuse to take, we  
" shall commit you, and at length preunire  
" you." Upon their refusal to take the oath  
they

CHA P. they were committed to Newgate, and thrust  
 XVII. into the common side, which, as well as the  
 ~~ other parts of the jail, was very full of friends,  
 1713. who were prisoners there before, and the addition  
 of these new prisoners caused a great throng  
 on that side. After some time they were re-  
 moved back to Bridewell, their former prison,  
 where they were much more comfortably ac-  
 commodated, till the ensuing sessions at the Old  
 Bailey, when being called to the bar they were  
 without further question discharged.

After his release Thomas Ellwood went down  
 to pay another visit to Isaac Penington and his  
 wife, intending after spending a few days there to  
 return to his studies in London, but Isaac Pen-  
 ington being in want of a tutor for his children,  
 prevailed on Thomas to stay with him in that  
 capacity till he could meet with one; which not  
 readily happening, and both parties being agreea-  
 ble to each other, he stayed here till he married,  
 near seven years.

While he lived here he was imprisoned again  
 with his friend and patron Isaac Penington for his  
 attendance of the funeral of Edward Perrot of  
 Amersham, and committed to Aylesbury jail for  
 one month, on the act of banishment.<sup>b</sup>

Not long after he was taken with others from  
 a meeting at Hedgerly, not far from the place of  
 his present residence, by the same justice Ambrose  
 Bennett, who had committed him and others to  
 Aylesbury jail, and now again committed to the  
 house of correction at Wycomb, for the second  
 offence, upon the act of banishment; but al-  
 though this limits the duration of the imprison-  
 ment, yet this man, although a lawyer, so far  
 forgot

<sup>b</sup> Vol. II. p. 144.

forgot himself as to order them to be kept until C H A P. they should be delivered by *due course of law*. XVII. They were detained above twelve weeks; and then, the rest being released, Morgan Watkins, a ministring friend of Wales, who had been travelling in those parts, and Thomas Ellwood were required to find sureties for their appearance at the next assizes, which refusing, they were re-committed to the same prison. But the Earl of Ancram interposing in their favour, discharged them from their imprisonment, upon their promise to appear at the assizes, which they did, and were there discharged by proclamation.

After his marriage, which was in 1669, he settled at Hunger-hill; and although he did not appear as a minister amongst his friends, he became a very respectable and serviceable member, and a well qualified elder of their religious society, being endowed with eminent talents to be useful in supporting and conducting the salutary discipline established therein, whether we consider him as holding the pen of a ready writer, in the capacity of clerk of the monthly, quarterly or yearly meeting; or with respect to his intellectual faculties, as a man, by precision of judgment, depth of penetration, and clearness of comprehension, qualified to speak pertinently to subjects under deliberation, and with discernment to see the point at which they should be rightly issued; yet with becoming modesty he did not tenaciously insist on his sentiments being adopted, but submitted them to consideration, and left them to make their way by the conviction of their propriety. Condescending to the weakest, he was not ready to reject or despise the sentiments

CHAP. timents of any other, which appeared to be well  
XVII. intended however weakly expressed; but would  
give them due consideration, and adopt them as  
1713. far as he thought their weight and pertinence en-  
titled them to approbation. The monthly meet-  
ing was held at his house for the greatest part of  
forty years, to which he officiated as clerk, and  
took upon him the care to keep the records  
thereof in good order.

He was also very serviceable to the cause of  
truth, and of the society, by his writings in de-  
fence of their principles, and in answering and  
refuting the calumnies of adversaries; as well as  
by sundry weighty epistles to his friends for their  
edification, and preservation from danger of  
being seduced by guile from the way of righ-  
teousness and peace.

He wrote in a very agreeable, easy and pleas-  
ing stile, clear and instructive, being generally  
a master of the subject he wrote upon; his pen  
exercised in defence or for the promulgation of  
religion and truth, hath left a standing evidence  
of the soundness of his understanding, and of  
the rectitude of his heart. After he was releas-  
ed from his office of tutor in Isaac Penington's  
family, and married, he seems to have been  
much master of his time, as it appears to have  
been very generally employed in serving the so-  
ciety and others, and in writings of one kind  
or other. I do not know that they were ever  
collected, and published together, as those of  
some other friends have been, many of them be-  
ing of the controversial kind, might be service-  
able and engaging attention at the time they  
were written; but the service answered, and the  
occasion

occasion ceasing, became less interesting to posterity, and therefore not necessary to be revived. C H A P. XVII.  
1713. He was much engaged in controversy either with adversaries without, or opponents within the society, whose endeavours were exerted to lay it waste. William Rogers and other separatists of that time, and afterwards George Keith, gave him much employment, to expose their deceit, and detect the fallacy of their pretensions, for the preservation of others from being entangled in the like snares ; and his labours were greatly conducive to the good end designed by them. But some of his writings, being of a more universal nature, are preserved, as *The Foundation of Tithes shaken*; *The sacred History of the Old and New Testament*, in two volumes folio ; and some others.

His private character was amiable and respectable ; his countenance manly and cheerful ; his deportment grave ; yet affable and courteous even to the meanest ; his conversation pleasing and instructive, yet marked with disapprobation of every thing that was beyond the circumscription of truth ; of an obliging disposition, he was ready (and in many cases capable) to serve his neighbours as well as friends, wherever his service was wanted. To the poor, the sick and the impotent, who wanted relief, his house and his heart were open, being careful to provide medicines and other things useful for such purposes, begrudging no expense to do good ; these qualities and dispositions procured him a great and general respect and esteem from most or all who were acquainted therewith.

**C H A P.** He lived to a pretty good age, and when ad-  
**XVII.** vanced in years looked very well, being of a re-  
**1713.** gular and temperate life, and healthy constitu-  
tion, only in his latter years was at times  
troubled with an asthma ; and at last was attack-  
ed with a paralytic stroke, which he bore with  
great patience and resignation ; and although his  
speech was considerably affected, so as to be un-  
derstood with difficulty, yet some of his dying  
expressions were sufficiently plain to be under-  
stood, conveying to the hearers a clear indica-  
tion of the peaceful tenour of his mind, and  
**G. Bowles's** perfect resignation to divine disposal. \* Being vi-  
**testimony.** fited by some of his friends, and one of them  
being concerned to pray by him, he expressed  
himself, in much tenderness, *I am sensibly com-  
forted and refreshed in this visit.* At another  
time he expressed his resignation as followeth :  
*If the Lord bath no more for me to do, I am  
content and resigned to his will ; and my hearty  
farewel to all my brethren.* And near his end he  
said, *I am full of joy and peace ; my spirit is filled  
with joy.* In about eight days his disorder put a  
period to his life the 1st of 3<sup>mo.</sup> 1713, in the  
seventy-fourth year of his age. Having served  
his generation according to the will of God, he  
fell asleep, and was honourably buried the 4th  
of the same month, being accompanied from his  
own house by a great number of his friends and  
others to the meeting-house at Jordans, and in-  
terred in friends burying ground there. The  
meeting was very large, in which divers living  
testimonies were borne to the truth, he lived and  
died

\* Appendix to his life.

died in, in a lively remembrance of him and his services in the church.

C H A P.

XVII.

The antipathy which the magistrates of Aberdeen, through the instigation of their preachers had imbibed against this society continuing to operate, had produced a by-law of the corporation in effect to disfranchise all who professed Popery or Quakerism, those of the latter society, inhabitants in and about the city, presented a petition to the Queen and Council, praying relief, whereby they procured an order of the Privy Council, prohibiting the execution of the said by-law, as far as it affected the people called Quakers.

1714.

Magistrates  
of Aberdeen  
make a law  
to disenfran-  
chise the  
Quakers.

The Queen's health began to decline fast, and tend to her dissolution; the nation was at this time in a very unsettled state; party animosities were revived to an excessive degree, and her very ministers broke out into open dissensions, which were thought to hasten her end. The reigning party in the latter years of her reign, were of that class of the established religion, which had always manifested a bigotted and intolerant zeal for the hierarchy, and consequently a fixed aversion to all dissenters. A fondness for penal laws seemed to revive, and it looked as if they had now conceived a design gradually to destroy the benefits of the toleration act; for after carrying the act against occasional conformity, they brought in this session an act against the growth of schism, being designed to prevent dissenters from keeping schools, and virtually to take out of the parents hands their natural right in the care and direction of the education of their own children. The bill met with great opposition in both

Act against  
the growth  
of schism.

**C H A P.** both houses as a species of persecution, and the  
**XVII.** people called Quakers presented to the legislature  
**1714.** the following remonstrance.

Representa-  
tion of the  
people call-  
ed Quakers  
against it.

“ 1st, The church of England hath frequently  
 “ declared, by several of her members, in a  
 “ civil as well as clerical capacity, by those who  
 “ framed and espoused one or more of the bills  
 “ against occasional conformity, *that she is in*  
 “ *principle against persecution, and for preserving*  
 “ *the toleration.*

“ 2dly. The promoters of this bill may please  
 “ to remember, that the Queen hath declared  
 “ from the throne, that she will *maintain the*  
 “ *toleration inviolable.*

“ 3dly. The protestant subjects of this king-  
 “ dom, who are parents of children, are sup-  
 “ posed to have preserved to them, by the funda-  
 “ mental laws of this kingdom, the natural  
 “ right of the care and direction of the educa-  
 “ tion of their own children, which natural  
 “ right this bill seems calculated to take away  
 “ and destroy.

“ 4thly. If the governments which are now  
 “ Heathen or Mahometan, should take into the  
 “ same policy, the society which the Queen hath  
 “ incorporated for the propagation of the gof-  
 “ pel in foreign parts, can have very little, if  
 “ any good effect or succels.

“ 5thly. May it not seem an objection and  
 “ contradiction to the many princely and chris-  
 “ tian

“ tian solicitations which the Queen by her mi- C H A P.  
 “ nisters hath made at foreign courts, on the XVII.  
 “ behalf of protestants, against the violent in-  
 “ trusions of papists into their rights and just  
 “ privileges. 1714.

“ 6thly. It may be a means to oblige the  
 “ carrying out of large sums of money for fo-  
 “ reign education.

“ 7thly. It may probably do much hurt to  
 “ charitable foundations.

“ 8thly. It seems not to be agreeable to the  
 “ great law of Christ, Matt. vii. 12. *Therefore*  
 “ *all things whatsoever ye would that men should*  
 “ *do to you, do ye even so unto them; for this is the*  
 “ *law and the prophets.*”

But opposition or remonstrances avail little against determinations supported by power ; the bill passed. the ministry had managed so as to procure a majority in both houses of parliament ; the act was passed, and received the royal assent. The state of affairs and prevailing disposition at this time filled many of the dissenters, particularly, with gloomy apprehensions. The Quakers (so called) in their epistle from the yearly meeting this year, from the present prospect of things, gave forth this caution and exhortation to their friends : “ There seems at present to hang over us a cloud, threatening a storm. Let us all watch and pray, and retire to our strong hold in our spiritual rock and foundation, which standeth sure ; that our God may defend, “ help

CHAP. " help and bless us, as his peculiar people, to  
XVII. " the end of our days and time here, and [with]  
~~~~ " the full fruition of the heavenly kingdom  
1714. " hereafter."

Rendered
ineffectual
by the
Queen's
death.

The Queen was removed by death the very day this act against schism was to take place, whereby it was rendered ineffectual, and the princess Sophia having died a little before her, the crown, by the act of settlement, descended to her son George, Prince Elector of Brunswick Lunenburgh, who was proclaimed King of Great Britain the day that the Queen died.

CHAP.

C H A P. XVIII.

A M E R I C A.

G. Keith's Party fall into Dissensions and dwindle away.—George Keith is sent in quality of a Missionary to America.—His Endeavours more directed to depreciate the Quakers than to recommend Episcopacy.—His Interview with John Richardson.—Thomas Story meets with him at Shrewsbury.—He challenges a Dispute with Samuel Bownas;—Which being rejected—George Keith and his confederate Bradford afterwards combine together to try if any Advantage can be taken from Samuel's Doctrine,—Bradford lodges an Information against Samuel.—Who is imprisoned,—Brought to Trial, but the Indictment rejected by the Grand Jury.—Confined more closely.—At length cleared by Proclamation.—George Keith returns to England and obtains a Living in Sussex.—Becomes uneasy to his Parishioners about their Tithes.

THE party who had been drawn aside by George Keith, were by this time greatly reduced in numbers, during his presence amongst them, and for some time after he left them, actuated by that spirit of envy and bitterness, under the influence whereof they had fallen out with

C H A P.

XVIII.

1701.

C H A P. with their quondam friends, and detached themselves into a separate society, they continued to treat the body from which they had separated with great asperity, and to be very troublesome to them in their religious assemblies and elsewhere. But in a few years they fell into division and dissension amongst themselves, whereby they were diverted from their molesting of friends, to gratify their lust of contention in bitter altercations with each other. Thus disunited, their society dissolved, their meeting dwindled away, and in six or seven years their name as a sect sunk into oblivion. George Keith in the mean time had arrived in New England in quality of missionary, and, together with one John Talbot, had received letters of recommendation from the society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts, to make what converts they could in those provinces.

G. Keith
sent as a
missionary
to America.

Notwithstanding he had given great expectations from his influence amongst his partisans and others, of bringing over many from the Quakers and other dissenters to the church of England ; and at his return gave such a flattering account of his embassy, that it was said he had brought comfort to the church ; yet in fact he was very unsuccessful in answering the design of his mission. At his leaving his adherents in Pennsylvania, he had hinted to them, ^b if they should hear of his preaching amongst the presbyterians or independents they should not term him an apostate for that ; but if ever they should hear of his putting on the canonical robe, and uniting with the church of England, he would give them leave to fix that denomination upon him.

^b Samuel Smith's MS.

him. When, therefore, he returned to America in the character and habit of a clergyman of that church, he effectually lost all his interest and influence with his former adherents ; both those who had withdrawn after him from the people called Quakers, and the Baptists who had adhered to him, were quite shy of him ; and offended with him, for leading them into a secession, and thus deserting them.

His principal exertions were not I apprehend in Pennsylvania, where he was known and now generally slighted ; but in New England, and on that side where the people were greater strangers to his former transactions there ; and still more directed to disturb the Quakers (so called) in their meetings, and by his accustomed false accusations to make them appear odious, than to render the church of England amiable, or pursue rational measures to reconcile dissenters thereto. His resentment against this society, first for rejecting him as a ruler, and afterward, as a member, still predominated in his mind, agitated him inwardly, and aggravated his unreasonable prejudice ; under the impulse whereof his endeavours were more employed to vex and harass the Quakers, than to propagate the gospel amongst them, or any other body of people.

He seems very much to have made it his business to appoint his meetings or places of preaching, at the times and places where the people called Quakers held their general meetings ; or where strangers of that society, came to those parts, in which he was, in the course of

C H A P.
XVIII.
1701.

He endeavours more to deprecate the Quakers, than to recommend the adoption of episcopacy.

C H A P.
XVIII.
1701.

their religious visits. * John Richardson of Burlington in Yorkshire, a well qualified minister, and a man deeply experienced in the work of religion, was at this time travelling in New England, came to Lynn to their monthly meeting, and was there informed of George Keith's intention to be at that meeting, which gave him some concern, under the apprehension of the interruption his presence might give to the solemnity of the meeting ; he advised to be swift to hear and slow to speak, as George Keith had a life in disputation.

His inter-
view with
John Ri-
chardson.

The evening preceding the meeting, George Keith came to the house where John Richardson lodged, with a priest and a great number of people along with him, and began railing exceedingly against friends, in insult to the stranger : And then in vain exultation exclaimed, *Is here a man that is a scholar ? Is here a man that understands the languages amongst you ? If so, I will dispute with him.* To this boasting challenge John Richardson replied, “ It was pro-
“ bable that the English language was most ge-
“ nerally understood, and used amongst that
“ people, and therefore he thought it most suita-
“ ble to converse in.” Then George Keith pro-
ceeded to magnify the dignity of his office,
“ that he was come in the Queen’s name to ga-
“ ther the Quakers from Quakerism to the mo-
“ ther church, the good old church of Eng-
“ land ;” threatening the next day to convict
them of errors, heresies, damnable doctrines and
blasphemies : Adding, “ look to answer for your-
“ selves,

* John Richardson’s journal.

“ selves, for if you do not, the auditory must C H A P.
 “ conclude, what I advance against you is true.” XVIII.
 John Richardson roused at this insulting menace,
 said to him, “ this is the fruit of malice and
 “ envy, and thou art unto us, but as a heathen
 “ man, and a publican.”
 ~~~~~  
 1701.

The next day George came to the meeting, where he repeated the purport of his embassy, and his threats in the same terms as on the preceding evening. John Richardson, in reply, laid open to the people assembled his conduct; the proceedings of the society in relation to him; to which George made no objection; but continuing quiet, the meeting was held peaceably and to edification, John Richardson appearing in the ministry, and beginning with these words, *After the manner that you call heresy do we worship the God of our fathers, believing all things that are written concerning Jesus Christ, both as to his Godhead and manhood.* The people were attentive and well satisfied; and George Keith owned “ he had been refreshed in that meeting, having heard many sound truths, with some errors; but that it was not the common doctrine “ which the Quakers preached.”

John Richardson, perceiving that this insinuation was intended to infuse an opinion into the people that the Quakers did not usually preach up faith in the manhood of Christ, to obviate the effects thereof, distinguished upon it to this purpose, that it was the less necessary, as being a point of faith universally received amongst christians, and as clearly demonstrated by the people called Quakers in their testimonies, and their writings, to be a point of faith with them,

CHAP. as any other people ; but that as his holy spirit  
 XVIII. is highly concerned in man's salvation, as well  
 ~~~~~ as what Christ did for us without us, and this  
 1701. being yet a mystery to many called christians,
 it had pleased God to open them in the course
 of their ministry, into the meaning and mystery
 thereof, and to insist upon the latter more than
 the former.

To this George Keith made no reply, but began to exhibit his charges, and stepped up to the gallery with his paper in his hand. John Richardson being taller, and standing by him, could see his quotations and paraphrases upon them, on which he told him, " that he offered " violence to that sense and understanding which " God had given him, and knew in his con- " science we were not the people he through " envy endeavoured to make the people believe " us to be." The meeting soon after broke up, and terminated the controversy for that time.

They met again in Rhode-Island, and afterwards at Flushing in Long-Island ; but he gave friends little trouble in either : For at the latter, particularly John Rodman of that place, having got intelligence that George had by some means possessed himself of 50l. out of a considerable legacy left by Col. West to poor friends of London, which was ordered to be paid over to some faithful friends of that city, and it being proved upon him that he had received the said sum and never accounted for it, in wrong of the poor, he was slighted by most of the people, as well as friends, and this detection of his unfair dealing so blocked up his way that friends had little trouble with him in that quarter.

The

The next friend who fell in with him on his C H A P. travels was Thomas Story from Carlisle. He XVIII. being come in the course of his visit to Shrewsbury in East Jersey, informs us, that George ^{1702.} Keith, in company with his fellow missionary, Talbot, came to Shrewsbury at the time of the yearly meeting held there for that province: On G. Keith. the first day of which he sent by said Talbot an advertisement to the meeting, "That he purposed to have a meeting at a house in the town, to begin at the eleventh hour the next day, then and there to detect out of the books of authors approved among the Quakers, divers vile errors, contrary to the Christian faith, and the fundamental principles of the Christian religion." And challenging friends as before, "to come and answer for themselves, or he would judge his quotations and remarks to be true, and a demonstration to all intelligent people that he had not wronged them." Where it may be proper to observe his subtle management in appointing his meeting about the middle time of friends meeting, when it was most likely they might feel themselves more comfortably and better employed than to desert their own meeting of solemn worship to perplex themselves with his invidious cavils: They returned him answer, "That being to them as a Heathen or a Publican, they continued to reject him, despising all his works of envy and revenge; that as he had begun in print, they should (as hitherto) answer him in that way, as least liable to misunderstanding and misrepresentations."

Thomas Story, the next who meets with

Soon

HISTORY OF THE

C H A P. Soon after this Samuel Bownas from West-
XVIII. moreland landed in Maryland, and almost im-
mediately after received the following note :

1702.
G. Keith
challenges
Samuel
Bownas to
dispute.

*" To the PREACHER lately arrived from
" ENGLAND.*

" SIR,

*" I intend to give notice after sermon, that
" you and myself are to dispute to-morrow, and
" would have you give notice thereof accord-
" ingly.*

" Sir, I am your humble servant,

" GEORGE KEITH.

*" Dated the 1st Sunday
" in August, 1702."*

Samuel being previously engaged to go forward to an appointed meeting, in company with a considerable number of friends, would have taken no notice of an unprovoked challenge; but being told Keith would call the country together and make much noise about it, as if they were afraid of meeting him, and urging Samuel to write him an answer, he accordingly wrote to the following effect :

" GEORGE KEITH,

*" I have received thine, and think myself
" no way obliged to take notice of one who
" hath*

Samuel's
answer.

“ hath been so very mutable in his pretences C H A P.
 “ to religion ; beside, as thou hast been long XVIII.
 “ since disowned, after due admonition given
 “ thee by our yearly meeting for thy quarrel-
 “ some and irregular practices, thou art not
 “ worthy of my notice, being no more to me
 “ than an Heathen man and publican.

“ SAMUEL BOWNAS.”

George Keith and Samuel met sundry times in their travels in those parts, but had little discourse or debate with each other : But when he came into Long-Island, a meeting being appointed for him at a village called Hempstead, here he met with George Keith again, and William Bradford his late printer in Philadelphia : These two combining together, Bradford was sent to the meeting to see if any advantage could be taken of his doctrine.

He came accordingly, and when Samuel stood up to speak, he pulled out of his pocket a small book, with pen and ink, steadfastly staring in his face to try to put him out of countenance, but in vain : He then wrote a little, and so continued alternately effaying to write, and to daunt him by his staring ; but Samuel feeling that animating virtue which bore him up above regarding his attempts, went through with the subject matter before him : When he had done, Bradford stood up with this interrogatory,
 “ Will you stand by these doctrines in public
 “ that have been now preached ?” To which John Rodman replied, “ William, thou knowest
 “ what our friend hath been concerned to speak
 “ about

W. Brad-
ford sent to
the meeting
to try if any
advantage
could be
taken of
Samuel's
doctrine.

CHAP. " about this day are such points as have been
 XVIII. " argued over and over, and as the controversy
 ~~ " hath been some years in print, it is needless
 1702. " at this time to reduce it to a verbal disputa-
 " tion." But not being satisfied without re-
 ceiving Samuel's answer, he told him his ques-
 tion being more for contention than edification,
 he did not think himself obliged to answer it,
 especially to one who for his contentious and
 disorderly behaviour, after tender admonition
 rejected by him, had been disowned ; and for this
 reason Samuel said, *I have no more to say to thee.*
 Bradford upon this turned away in great wrath,
 threatening *Samuel should hear of it another
 way.*

In his testimony Samuel had fallen upon the subject of ceremonies, particularly those of baptism and the use of bread and wine, called the Lord's Supper ; and as it seems endeavoured to shew their insufficiency to salvation of themselves, according to the manner of the administration thereof, either by the Papists, the Church of England or Dissenters.

Keith, and Bradford from his notes, trumped up a long affidavit, and Bradford attested it before two justices ; and then another evidence being requisite, they met with a young man who had been at the meeting, from whom Keith extorted some expressions he had heard spoken, which having done they threatened him with dreadful consequences if he would not come in and give evidence ; therefore, through fear, he was prevailed upon to give his evidence upon oath in the words George Keith had got from him by guile,

Having

Having brought matters to this issue, they CHAP. procured a warrant to apprehend him, and put a stop to his travelling; for he was informed that Keith had proposed the making a law to restrain friends from travelling, only to their own meetings; for it was the travelling preachers that kept the Quakers compacted together. This by bigots was approved as a likely method to put a stop to their increase, but by men of moderation treated with the contempt it deserved. The warrant being procured and delivered to the sheriff, he arrested him the next day in the meeting at Flushing, being the half year's meeting for New York government; but being a man of a less implacable disposition than the prosecutors, he stayed the meeting; and after the meeting was over, having a conference with some of his friends, he was prevailed upon to give him his liberty till the fifth day of the week, which gave him the opportunity to attend the remaining meetings to the end of the said half year's meeting, in which he had good service, to the general satisfaction of crowded auditories.

The meeting being ended, he appeared before the justices, accompanied by several friends, and after his examination and their consultation among themselves, he was called in again, when the clerk informed him, that *these honourable justices have agreed that you must enter into 2000l. bail, yourself in 1000l. and two of your friends 500l. each, or else be committed to the common jail.* Refusing to enter into bail, one of the justices asked him, if the sum was too large, he replied, “ If as small a sum as three-halfpence “ would

^{1702.}
Bradford
informs a-
gainst him.

S. Bownas
arrested.

CHAP. " would do, I should not do it, it being of
xviii. " such a nature as I could by no means com-
1702. " ply with." Jonathan Whitehead, one of the
 justices, was very friendly, wanted him to be
 set at liberty, offered himself for bail, and took
 him to his house that night, where he was very
 kindly entertained. The next day he was sent
 to jail with the following mittimus :

" Queen's } S. S. Joseph Smith, Esq; Ed-
 " County } ward Burrows, Esq; John
 " Smith, Esq; and Jonathan Whitehead, Esq;
 " justices of the peace for the Queen's
 " County.

" To the high sheriff of the Queen's County,
 " greeting.

**Warrant of
commit-
ment.**

" We send you herewithal the body of Sa-
 " muel Bownas, a Quaker, brought before us
 " this day, and charged with speaking scanda-
 " lous lies of, and reflections against the church
 " of England, as by law established, and other
 " misdemeanours by him done and spoken at a
 " public assembly in Hampstead in this county,
 " on the 21st day of this instant November.
 " And therefore these are in behalf of her Ma-
 " jesty to command you, that immediately you
 " receive the said Samuel Bownas, and him
 " safely keep in the common jail of this county,
 " until he shall be thence delivered by the due
 " course of her Majesty's laws. Dated under
 " our hands and seals at Jemeca this 30th day
 " of November, in the second year of the
 " reign

“ reign of our sovereign lady Anne, &c. An-C H A P.
“ noq. Dom. 1702.

XVIII.

1702.

“ JOSEPH SMITH,

“ EDWARD BURROWS,

“ JOHN SMITH,

“ JONATHAN WHITEHEAD.”

This proceeding may appear strange at this time, as being supported by no existing law, and a violation of the act of toleration; but it is to be observed, that at this very time the high church party were so considerable a body in the parliament of England, that they had procured an act against occasional conformity; and manifested their enmity to dissenters by an acrimony which indicated their propensity to persecution, and was by many looked upon as a step to a repeal of the act of toleration.

It was at the same time the lot of New York to be governed by a principal of this party. Lord Cornbury, son to the Earl of Clarendon, was governor of this province, who actuated by an hereditary zeal for the hierarchy, and aversion to non-conformists, had in an arbitrary manner silenced sundry presbyterian preachers, and placed churchmen in their room, and on many occasions manifested an inimical disposition to dissenters in general, and an inclination to revive severe measures against them; taking liberties in this remote province, which would as yet have hardly been allowed or endured at home. Cornbury favoured the prosecution, and

CHAP. and it is probable, that the prospect of his
 XVIII. countenance thereto encouraged these ill-designing
 men to make the attempt in his govern-
 ment, which they could expect little success in
 1702. attempting elsewhere. Governors are seldom at
 a loss to find, or to model magistrates to com-
 ply with or promote their measures. The
 judges, particularly Bridges the chief justice,
 accommodating themselves to the governor's in-
 tentions, in imitation of our judges in king
 Charles the second's reign, directed their en-
 deavours to get him convicted right or
 wrong.

But although the judges were of this cast, the temper of the times was considerably changed, so that it was not easy to get juries equally obsequious with those of that æra. Where men thought for themselves, and were influenced by the impulse of their own consciences, they were not so easily warped by the partial instructions of the bench. When Samuel Bownas had been about three months in prison, a special commission of Oyer and Terminer was issued to John Bridges, chief justice, and other justices. A bill of indictment was sent to the grand jury against Samuel, who had prepared reasons to set Bradford's evidence aside, and the same being laid before the grand jury, they had such weight with them, that they returned the bill endorsed, *Ignoramus*, at which disappointment the judge was greatly incensed, and treated the grand jury with indecent asperity, addressing them in this passionate language :

“ Gentlemen, surely you have forgot your
 “ oaths, and for so doing I could give you some
 “ hard

Bill of indictment preferred against him, rejected by the grand jury.

" hard names, but at present shall forbear. Is C H A P.
" this your verdict against the Quaker ? XVIII.

" Foreman. It is, Sir.

" Judge. I demand your reasons.

1702.

" James Clement, a juryman. We are sworn
" to keep the Queen's secrets, our fellows and
" our own, and therefore we declare no rea-
" sons.

" Judge. Now Mr. Wiseman speaks, but I
" can tell you, you are not so sworn; and I
" could find in my heart to lay *you* by the
" heels, and a fine on the rest of your
" brethren."

The judge finding his threats ineffectual with men who knew they stood on constitutional ground, and therefore disregarded them, changed his mode of address, and begged them to take back the bill, and resume the consideration thereof, which they did, but could not be prevailed upon by menaces or by flattery to alter their verdict, which exasperated the judge His impri-
to that degree, that he gave strict orders for the sonment continued
prisoner to be confined more closely than before, more close- threatening, that as justice cannot be here ly. come at, he would send him to London chained to the man of war's deck, like other vile cri- Threatened
minals, with his crimes and misdemeanours along with him. Samuel being a young man, little versed in the law, or the knowledge of the constitutional power of the judge, was greatly dejected at the report of this menace, doubting how far he might be able to support so disgraceful and so humiliating a punishment with the decorum suiting the dignity of the cause for which he suffered. His friends had left him alone,

to be sent to England in chains,

CHAP. alone, and he had lost his faith, which was worse
 XVIII. than being left alone. His despondency was so
 great, that he thought himself the most wretched
 1702. among men, and scarcely able to live under it.
 which causes him great discouragement.

In this condition he received a visit from Thomas Hicks, an antient man, who had borne the office of chief justice in the province some years, and was well versed in the laws, who gave him great encouragement, by assuring him the judge could not put his menace in execution, for that every criminal must be tried where the cause of action lies; but that the judge and governor also were disgusted by being frustrated in their designs. Had, said he, the Presbyterians stood as you have done, they had not so tamely left their meeting-houses to the church. The discourse of this honest man was the means of renewing his faith, and of raising him from the state of dejection in which he found himself before.

He demands his liberty and is refused.

Being advised to demand his liberty as his right by law, he did so, both of the judge, and afterwards by petition to the governor, but it was arbitrarily refused. They were resolved, they said, not to be so baffled by the country, but they would bring him to justice. Keith printed some sheets, in pretence to open the eyes of the people, aggravating the case to the utmost; but it had a tendency to open their eyes, more to discover his envy and vindictive spirit against the Quakers in general, and the prisoner in particular, than to convince them of the justice of their proceedings.

He was now closely confined in a small room made of logs, which had been protested against as an unlawful prison two years before, and his

his friends denied to visit him. But here we C H A P. meet with a fresh instance of the care that rested upon these disinterested men, not to make the gospel chargeable. Not knowing how long his imprisonment might continue, he became very thoughtful, what method to take for supporting himself, and it was suggested to his mind to try if he could learn to make shoes ; and meeting with a good-natured man of that craft, he made proposal to him for instructing him in the art, at the same time acquainting him with his reason for so doing ; he replied, " It is very honourable in you, but if one of our ministers were in the like situation, they would look upon it as a disparagement to take up so mean an occupation ;" yet he acknowledged, if Samuel could earn his bread with his own hands, it was most agreeable to Paul's practice. Samuel quickly made so much proficiency in the art, that he procured thereby more than a sufficiency for his support, which was not only conducive to make the time of his confinement less irksome, but administered abundant ease to his mind, in the reflection of being enabled to procure a support by the labour of his own hands without charge to his friends, some of whom were uneasy, supposing it might appear dishonourable in them to suffer it ; but others apprehending it a great honour to the cause of the gospel, rejoiced that he succeeded so well.

He was detained in prison about nine months longer ; and about the beginning of the eighth month 1703, the sheriff received an order to summon another jury, to try their success a second

<sup>He learns
to make
shoes for his
support in
prison.</sup>

1703.

CHAP. cond time. He had private instructions to pro-
 XVIII. cure such a jury as might be likely to answer
 ~ their purpose, which he shewed Samuel with
 1703. marks of abhorrence, assuring him he would
 never do it. So the jury being fairly named,
 and the indictment sent to them, they looked
 upon it too frivolous to engage their se-
 rious attention, and returned it, as their prede-
 cessors had done, *Ignoramus*. He was next
 He regains his liberty. brought into court, and nothing appearing
 against him, he was discharged by proclamation. Not only his friends, who came from
 most parts of the island to wait the issue of his
 trial, but the people in general, were exceed-
 ingly rejoiced at his acquittal and discharge,
 after being invidiously imprisoned, and arbitra-
 rily detained in prison twelve months wanting
 about three weeks.

These specimens of George Keith's conduct in the capacity of a missionary, manifest it to be chiefly directed to vent his deep resentment against the Quakers, whereby instead of promoting, he in a great measure defeated the end of his mission; for his unreasonable prejudice and unprovoked enmity were so obvious, that instead of bringing an odium on the Quakers, as he designed, he brought great discredit and great dislike of his proceedings from the generality of the people upon himself, so that he shut up his own way from making many proselytes amongst them.

He spent something more than twelve months in the itinerant exercise of his new function, and returned by way of Virginia to England, where he obtained the benefice of Edberton in

Sussex

G. Keith returns to England, and gets a living in Sussex.

Sussex, and there he continued his writings and C H A P. invectives against his former friends ; but his restless temper was not fully satisfied with venting his passion against them. It was not long before he began to fall out with his parishioners about their tithes*. Not content with the accustomed income of his parish, which was reported to exceed 100l. per annum, he would sometimes take the tithes in kind ; sometimes let them to others to take in kind, meditating and trying every method to raise the income to the utmost, and extending his claim to the minutest articles, even to the tenth of the eggs of one hen, and of the scanty crops of garden roots of the poorest inhabitants of his parish, by which he estranged the affections of his hearers, who were quite disgusted at such instances of his avarice and his meanness.

That he was upon ill terms with his parishioners further appears from hence, that being affected with lameness and infirmity for three years before his decease, and disabled from walking to the place of worship, he was presented by his parishioners for divers neglects ;

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for

* These anecdotes of George Keith during his incumbency at Edberton are taken from some memoirs of John Snashall, who lived in that neighbourhood, viz. at or near Hurst-pierpoint in Sussex, who wrote them either of his own knowledge or from the information of his neighbours, who reported them as truth from their knowledge of the facts. John Snashall is characterized by his friends as a man of a very loving and courteous disposition to all : In charity universal, and a good and kind neighbour ; and being a religious man, was doubtless a man of veracity. These memoirs he left in manuscript, which were preserved in the family, and communicated to me by Jeremiah Waring, junior.

CHAP. for letting the parsonage-house go to decay for
 xviii. want of necessary repairs ; for not going to
 ~~~~~ preach himself at the proper seasons, nor hiring  
 1703. a curate to officiate in his stead. In short, he  
 had so indulged his propensity to contention,  
 that he could hardly keep upon good terms  
 with any he had to deal with, whereby he  
 became despicable and disagreeable in the eyes  
 of his neighbours ; many of whom would de-  
 clare, they should be glad that the Quakers  
 would take him back again, so that they might  
 be rid of so restless a spirit. Like the salt  
 that had lost its favour, and was thenceforth  
 good for nothing but to be cast out and be  
 trodden under feet of men.

Yet after all, there is reason to suppose that he was favoured, particularly near his latter end, with seasons of serious reflection, wherein he viewed the peaceful state of his mind whilst in unity and peace with the Quakers as brethren, and felt remorse under the loss thereof\*. Paying a visit to a gentleman at Hurstpierpoint, and a conversation arising concerning the Quakers, he owned before several persons, “ That “ since he had left them he had lost one qua-“ lification they had among them, that in their “ religious meetings *they could stop all thoughts* “ *which hindered their devotions*, which he very “ much admired he could never attain to “ since.”

I have already related from † Alexander Arscott the acknowledgment George Keith made to Richard Hayler on his death bed, which passage

\* J. Snashall.

† See vol. 3, p. 452.

passage is also thus related by John Snaishall C H A P. aforesaid: "The 16th 1<sup>mo</sup> 17<sup>1 3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> George Keith, xviii. "as he lay sick in bed, said, that *he did believe* ~~when~~  
 "if God had taken him out of the world when 1703.  
 "he went among the Quakers, and in that pro-  
 "fession, it had been well with him;" which words he spoke before Richard Hayler of Step-  
 ning, who went to see George Keith, hearing  
 he was sick.

In order to bring this disagreeable subject to *Reflection*. a conclusion, I am considerably advanced in time, and in the description of the whole of this man's transactions, I am not conscious of exaggerating any circumstance beyond a true state thereof, according to the authorities of cotemporary writers, some of whom, with myself, regret the occasion of dwelling upon the subject, and express the great respect they had had for him on account of his qualifications and services, believing him to have been a man truly convinced and enlightened, and in a good state, (which his aforesaid confessions plainly imply), but that through ambition and self-exaltation, he fell away therefrom; it being our persuasion, that a righteous man may turn from his righteousness, and that we are no longer safe than whilst we are watchful.

Now as there have been many bright examples of virtue and pure religion exhibited in this work, shewing what is most worthy of our endeavouring to attain; so here we have an example of caution, what is most carefully to be avoided, in order to preserve divine favour, the unity of the brethren, and respectful esteem of all good men: A powerful

CHAP. caution not to indulge a disposition aspiring  
XVIII. above our proper places in religious society,  
1703. but whatever our abilities or attainments, natural or spiritual, may be, to keep in the humility becoming dependent beings, who have nothing good, but what they have received from the fountain of all good; and if we conceive we have in any respect an advantage over some others, let us remember the apostle's reasoning, "Who made thee to differ from another, or "what hast thou that thou hast not received?"

I have ever looked upon it as a great enormity to deck ourselves with the Lord's jewels, to suffer the talents and gifts bestowed upon us, (it may be not for our own sakes, but the edification of the body), to occasion an exalted opinion of ourselves in the contemplation thereof; and still more enormous to apply the place they have given us in the estimation of our friends, to the low purposes of promoting our own interests, or seeking pre-eminence, dominion or lordship in society. May I, may my brethren and sisters in profession and in usefulness, take warning from the mis-carriages of others, and be so preserved in humility, circumspection and fear, as never to exemplify in our conduct the expression of the wise man, that *pride goes before destruction, and an aspiring spirit before a fall.*

## C H A P. XIX.

*John Estaugh and Richard Gove taken by a French Privateer in their Passage to Barbadoes.*

—*Taken into Martinico, and Occurrences there.*

—*Thomas Chalkley visits the Shawaneese and Seneca Indians.—William Penn's Epistle to the Settlers in Pennsylvania.*

JOHN ESTAUGH from Haddenfield, New Jersey, in company with Richard Gove, who embarked at Philadelphia this year, to pay a religious visit to their friends in Barbadoes, being arrived near that Island, the ship was taken by a French privateer and carried into Martinico: They were fifteen days in reaching that place, at which the master of the prize, on board of which these friends were detained, was so disturbed, that he said the hand of God was against them; and his superstitious bigotry attributed the tediousness of the passage to these two passengers, because they frequently employed the intermediate time in reading their bibles, which, therefore, he would sometimes threaten to throw overboard. The morning after their arrival at Martinico, an officer, attended by some persons of seeming rank in the island, came on board, who getting a sight of the certificates which they had received from their respective monthly meetings, according to the good order used in this society, and which one of the company interpreted to the rest, their friends therein having

1704.  
J. Estaugh  
and R.  
Gove, on  
their pas-  
sage to Bar-  
badoes,  
taken by a  
French pri-  
vateer and  
carried into  
Martinico.

CHAP. having expressed their desire, “ that they might  
 xix. “ be preserved out of the hands of unreason-  
 ~~~~~ “ able men :” upon the reading of this passage,  
 1704. some of them cried out, “ see now the spirit
 “ hath deceived you, for you are not pre-
 “ served as they would have it.” One of them
 answered, “ the spirit had not deceived them,
 “ that what was mentioned there was the de-
 “ sire of their friends for them, and that pro-
 “ bably there might be some service for them
 “ even there.” Upon which they continued
 their humourous raillery, crying out, “ See
 “ now ! they are now come to convert the
 “ fathers, we will bring you together and you
 “ shall dispute it out.” But of the fathers,
 so called, none came near to them except an
 old Irish priest, whose province it seems was
 to endeavour to convert the prisoners at 40s.
 a head for every convert : The other prisoners
 wanted him to dispute with the Quakers, but
 he evaded it for some time ; yet at length
 entered into discourse with John Estaugh, whom
 he found too well furnished with matter for him
 to make much impression upon. He called him
 a *heretick*, and turned to his companion, who
 taking his bible, opened it in the text, “ be-
 “ ware of *false prophets* :” Which provoking
 the priest, he endeavoured to wrench the bible
 with violence out of his hands, not without
 leaving marks of his violence behind, which
 ended the dispute ; but the other prisoners de-
 termined it plainly in favour of the Quakers,
 with whom they said he was not able to dis-
 pute.

The French nation in general have appeared C H A P.
more humane and less bigotted than most others xix.
of the Romish communion. It doth not appear
that these friends, while in their hands, suffered
at all upon account of their religion, or that
their confinement was very rigid; they seem
to have enjoyed full liberty of holding meetings,
I suppose chiefly with English prisoners. 1704.

Before they came to the island, the protestant
prisoners there, we may presume, had no min-
ister to officiate amongst them; but there was a
major in one of the English regiments, who had
been a prisoner there a considerable time, with-
out being able to obtain his liberty; probably for
want of a prisoner of equal rank in exchange.
He had been engaged in supplying the place of a
priest, by reading prayers two or three times a
week to his fellow-prisoners: But since these
friends arrived and held their meetings, his au-
ditory was consideraly decreased, which giving
him much uneasiness, he reprimanded the people
sharply for going to the Quakers meetings; but
still their meetings continuing to increase, he
determined at last to enter into a dispute with
them.

He began with high charges, but J. Estaugh
replied with a firmness and freedom which pro-
voked the major, instead of arguments to use
unhandsome menaces, which the other disregard-
ing, continued his argument for the information
of the auditors, with so much prudent coolness
and command of his temper, as conduced to al-
lay the passion of his antagonist; and as he be-
came moderate, the controversy grew more satis-
factory:

CHAP. factory : But J. Estaugh appearing better versed
 XIX. in the scriptures than the major, and quoting
 ~~~~~ some text which the latter had no recollection of,  
 1704. he conceived an apprehension that the Quakers  
 bibles were not the same with his ; but upon the  
 comparison finding them perfectly to agree, and  
 that the texts quoted were alike in both, he gave  
 up the contest, grew friendly, they parted in  
 mutual good-will, and he treated them with much  
 civility and respect during their stay in that  
 island.

When the cartel for the exchange of prisoners was settled, none bound to or from Barbadoes were to receive the benefit thereof. But Jonas Langford, a friend of Antigua, having requested colonel Byham, who went to Martinico for the purpose of exchanging them, that if any of his friends were there, he would use his interest for their release ; he at his arrival finding these friends, applied to the governor, and asked it as a favour from him, that the two Quakers, though bound to Barbadoes, might go with him to Antigua ; " What, the two apostles," said the governor, (for they had given them that name in Martinico) and he consented. So they obtained their liberty after a captivity of about two months, in which they thought they had as great service as in any other part of their journey, although they had good satisfaction in Antigua, where two persons were thoroughly convinced by their ministry. From Antigua they went by Bermudas to Barbadoes, and having finished their service there, returned home.

In this year Thomas Chalkley returning from a visit to friends in Maryland, and having a concern

cern on his mind to pay a religious visit to the C H A P. Indians at Conestigo, laid his concern before the xix. elders of Nottingham meeting, with which they ~~ expressed their unity, and encouraged him to the 1706. undertaking. He was joined by twelve or thirteen more and an interpreter, who took their journey about fifty miles through the woods, carrying their provisions along with them. They were kindly received by the Indians, and upon their application, for the opportunity of a religious meeting, they called a council, which they conducted with great gravity, and in their deliberation expressed their sentiments coolly one after another. Some of their women being present, T. Chalkley, who was admitted to the council, enquired of the interpreter, Why they introduced women into their councils? to which he replied, *some women are wiser than some men.* Observing an antient grave woman who spoke frequently, it excited his curiosity to make particular enquiry concerning her. The interpreter informed him that she was an empress, and a woman of such authority among them, that they undertook nothing of consequence without consulting her. That she then said, she looked upon this visit to be of an extraordinary nature, as the persons were not come to buy or sell or get gain, but in love and regard to them, from a desire of their well doing both here and hereafter, and that a meeting among them might be beneficial to their young people. There were two tribes of them, the Seneca's and Shawanese. They had first a meeting with the Seneca's, who were much affected with what they heard and understood, and calling the other tribe they interpreted

**C H A P.** interpreted what they had heard to them. These  
**XIX.** friends had also another meeting with the Sha-  
 wanese Indians: Their visit was gratefully ac-  
 1706. cepted, and the Indians expressed their desire of  
 more opportunities of the like kind, which it is  
 hoped divine providence will afford them. The  
 gospel was preached to them freely, and faith in  
 Christ, who was put to death by the unbelieving  
 Jews; and that Jesus is come the second time  
 without sin unto salvation; and by his grace and  
 light in the soul, sheweth to man his sins, con-  
 vinceth him thereof, and delivereth him out of  
 them, and giveth inward peace and comfort for  
 well-doing. To which doctrines they gave a  
 public assent, but in a particular manner to  
 that of the light in the soul. They seem-  
 ed much affected and listened with much  
 seriousness. The benefit of the holy scriptures  
 was also largely explained and expatiated  
 upon.

In the year 1708, William Penn visited  
 the settlers with a letter by his new gover-  
 nor Gookin, of which the following is an ex-  
 tract:

“ London, 28th 7<sup>mo</sup>, 1708.

“ Dear Friends and Brethren,

“ My antient love, if you can believe it, reach-  
 “ eth to you as in times past and years that are  
 “ gone, even in the divine root and principle of  
 “ love and life, that made us near to one another  
 “ above all worldly considerations, where our  
 “ life,

“ life, I hope is hid with Christ in God our fa-<sup>c</sup> H A P.  
“ ther, so that when he appears we shall also ap-  
“ pear with him in glory, and in the mean time  
“ through us to those that love and wait for  
“ his appearance, as the desire of nations ; that  
“ we may glorify God his and our everlasting  
“ father, in our bodies, souls and spirits : In  
“ temporal and eternal affairs, being indeed none  
“ of our own, for so much as we are our own,  
“ we are none of the Lord’s : A great mystery,  
“ but a great truth, and of absolute necessity to  
“ witness, to be of the number of the chosen na-  
“ tion, the peculiar people and royal priesthood  
“ of Christ and his glorious kingdom.

“ Oh, my dear friends ! let all below this keep  
“ on the left hand, and wait to feel those blessed  
“ things to inherit the right hand, and in faith  
“ and courage cry aloud to the Lord for his re-  
“ newing and refreshing power, that may revive  
“ and reform his work upon our hearts and  
“ minds, and our humility, meekness, patience,  
“ self-denial and charity, with a blameless walk-  
“ ing, may plainly appear, and manifest the  
“ work of God upon our hearts to those that  
“ are without, which is not only the way to  
“ bring up the loiterers and gather in the care-  
“ less ones to their duty, but fetch home and  
“ bring in the strangers, and the very enemies  
“ of the blessed truth, to confess and acknow-  
“ ledge that God is in you and for you of a  
“ truth.

“ In the first love I leave you, committing  
“ you and yours, and all the Lord’s people  
“ amongst you, my own family and affairs, to  
“ the merciful providence and orderings of our  
“ great

XIX,

1703.

C H A P. " great and gracious God, that welcomed us in  
XIX. " poor America, with his excellent love and  
1708. " precious light, and will I hope once more, and  
" remain your loving faithful friend,

" WILLIAM PENN."

" Herewith comes your school charter."

B O O K

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# H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

## PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

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### B O O K VII.

From the ACCESSION of GEORGE I. to the  
end of the Reign of GEORGE II.

#### C H A P. I.

*King George I. ascends the Throne of Great Britain.—Address of the People called Quakers to him.—G. Whitehead's speech to the Prince of Wales.—Act for our Affirmation renewed.—Rebellion in Scotland.—Quelled.—Quakers' Address upon that Occasion.—Life and Character of Samuel Waldenfield.*

IMMEDIATELY after Queen Anne's decease, the privy council assembled, and the Earl of Dorset was appointed to carry to Hanover the information of the king's accession; who soon after left his German dominions, repaired to England, and arrived in London the 20th of September.

I.  
1714.  
King Geo. I.  
ascends the throne.

CHAP. ber. After his arrival, having declared in council his firm purpose to maintain the toleration in favour of protestant dissenters, whereby they were relieved from the apprehensions they had conceived, by the measures pursued in the close of the late reign ; many addresses of congratulation were presented to him, and on the 3d of October one was sent up from the people called Quakers, which was delivered by George Whitehead, accompanied by several friends, who were introduced by Lord Townsendl, one of the secretaries of state. When George Whitehead presenting the address to the King, he introduced it with this preface, " We are come in behalf of the people called Quakers, to present to King George our address and acknowledgement ; may it be favourably received." After which Joseph Wyeth read it as followeth :

" To George, King of Great Britain, &c.

" The humble Address of the people commonly  
" called Quakers.

" Great Prince,

Address of the people called Quakers to King George.

" It having pleased Almighty God to deprive these kingdoms of our late gracious Queen, we do in great humility approach thy royal presence, with hearts truly thankful to Divine Providence for thy safe arrival with the prince thy son ; and for thy happy and uninterrupted succession to the crown of these realms, which, to the universal joy of thy faithful subjects, hath secured to thy people the protestant succession

cession, and dissipated the just apprehensions C H A P.  
 " we were under of losing those religious and I.  
 " civil liberties which were granted to us by ~~~~~  
 " law in the reign of King William III. whose 1714.  
 " memory we mention with great gratitude and  
 " affection. We are also in duty obliged, thank-  
 " fully to acknowledge thy early and gracious  
 " declaration in council, wherein thou hast, in  
 " princely and christian expressions, manifested  
 " thy just sense of the state of thy people, and  
 " which we hope will make all degrees of thy  
 " subjects easy.

" And as it hath been our known principle  
 " to live peaceably under government, so we  
 " hope it will always be our practice, through  
 " God's assistance, to approve ourselves, with  
 " hearty affection, thy faithful and dutiful sub-  
 " jects.

" May the wonderful counsellor and great  
 " preserver of men guide the king by  
 " his divine wisdom, protect him by his  
 " power, give him health and length of  
 " days here, and eternal felicity hereaf-  
 " ter. And so bless his royal offspring,  
 " that they may never fail to adorn the  
 " throne with a successor endowed with  
 " piety and virtue."

To which the King returned the following  
 Answer :

" I am well satisfied with the marks of <sup>The King's</sup> duty you express in your address, and you <sup>Answer.</sup>  
 " may be assured of my protection "

After

C H A P. After the address was read, George Whitehead spoke to this effect:

1714.

"Thou art welcome to us, King George,  
" we heartily wish thee health and happiness,  
" and thy son the prince also. King William  
" III. was a happy instrument in putting a stop  
" to persecution, by promoting toleration, which  
" being intended for the uniting of the king's  
" protestant subjects in interest and affection,  
" it hath so far that effect, as to make them  
" more kind to one another, even among the  
" differing persuasions, than they were when  
" persecution was on foot. We desire the king  
" may have further knowledge of us and our inno-  
" cency; and that to live a peaceable and quiet  
" life in all godliness and honesty, under the king  
" and his government, is according to our prin-  
" ciple and practice."

When George had thus spoken, his name was asked, which he told; and having a desire to see the prince, one of his gentlemen introduced these friends into a chamber, where the prince met them, to whom George spoke as follows:

G. White-  
head's  
speech to  
the Prince.

"We take it as a favour that we are thus admitted to see the Prince of Wales, and truly are very glad to see thee; having delivered our address to the king thy royal father, and being desirous to give thyself a visit in true love, we very heartily wish health and happiness to you both; and that if it should please God thou shouldst survive thy father and come to the throne, thou mayst enjoy tranquillity and peace. I am persuaded,  
" that

" that if the king thy father and thyself do stand C H A P  
 " for the toleration for liberty of conscience to be I.  
 " kept inviolable, God will stand by you. May ~~~~~  
 " king Solomon's choice of wisdom be thy choice, 1715.  
 " with holy Job's integrity and compassion to  
 " the oppressed, and the state of the righteous  
 " ruler commended by king David, viz. " *He*  
 " *that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in*  
 " *the fear of God, and he shall be as the light*  
 " *of the morning when the sun riseth, even a*  
 " *morning without rain, as the tender grass*  
 " *springing out of the earth by clear shining after*  
 " *rain.*""

This speech was favourably received.

In the next year 1715 the term of the act Affirmation  
 for accepting the solemn affirmation of the act renew-  
 people called Quakers being nearly expired,  
 a bill was brought into the house of commons  
 on the 7th of third month, O. S. commonly  
 called May, for renewal thereof, which was  
 passed by the said house without limitation of  
 time, and consequently was made perpetual.  
 In the house of lords an additional clause was  
 inserted, that the like indulgence should be  
 extended to the northern part of Great Bri-  
 tain, called Scotland, and to the plantations  
 belonging to the crown of Great Britain for  
 five years, and to the end of the next session  
 of parliament. This amendment was agreed to  
 by the commons, and received the royal assent  
 the last day of the same month. But the affir-  
 mation was yet continued in the original form,  
 which many friends still scrupled to avail them-  
 selves of, by reason of their apprehensions

CHAP. that it appeared too near the nature of an  
I. oath.

1715. Yet the favourable disposition of the present sovereign and the present government towards this people, made deep impressions of gratitude on their minds, which drew from them the following exhortation in their epistle, from the yearly meeting held in London about that time :

Extract  
from a  
yearly  
meeting  
epistle.

" The Lord our God, who for the sake of  
" his heritage, hath often heretofore rebuked  
" and limited the raging waves of the sea,  
" hath, blessed be his name, mercifully dis-  
" persed the cloud threatening a storm, which  
" lately seemed to hang over us ; which together  
" with the favour God hath given us in the  
" eyes of the king and the government, for  
" the free enjoyment of our religious and civil  
" liberties, call for true thankfulness to him.  
" And humbly to pray to almighty God for  
" the king and those in authority, for his  
" and their safety and defence, is certainly our  
" christian duty, as well as to walk inoffensively  
" as a grateful people."

The change of ministers and measures in the latter end of the late reign had created much dissension amongst the people; and while a cry was raised for the populace to follow, that *the Church was in danger*, many began to fear that the protestant succession was in danger, and the partisans of the late King James flattered themselves with hopes, that way might be made for the Pretender to obtain the Crown; but the sudden death of the Queen damped their

their sanguine expectations; for the friends to the house of Hanover took their measures so wisely, that George the First was immediately proclaimed King as already intimated. Yet notwithstanding his justice and mildness, the disappointed party retained and fomented discontent, and endeavoured to disturb his government. The clamour of the church's being in danger was revived; jealousies were excited, seditious libels dispersed, and the populace stimulated to riot and hatred of the dissenters,\* by which means, when they hoped the number

M 2

ber

C H A P.  
I.  
1715.

\* Thomas Story in the course of his travels came to Oxford on the 28th 3<sup>mo</sup> (called May) this year, and gives the following account of a riot in that city, " That in the evening a great mob of scholars and others arose, and gutted (as they called it) the Presbyterian meeting house, that is, they broke all the windows, doors, benches, wainscots and seats, carrying them away, and burning and destroying them, which made a great uproar in the city.

" Friends having heard that they intended to use our meeting-house as they had done that of the Presbyterians, an advertisement thereof was drawn up in writing, directed to the mayor, and sent by a friend; but the mayor being absent at the time, it was left with his servant, who promised to give it him as soon as he came: It contained also a request to the mayor, to protect us against the intended violence, as the chief civil magistrate of the city; but we received no benefit by our application, as the sequel proved.

" After the meeting we returned to our quarters; and about nine in the evening, hearing a great noise of the mob at a distance, we had soon an account that they were using our meeting-house, as they had done that of the Presbyterians the night before: They broke in by violence, and took away all the forms and seats that were loose, and such as were fast round the house they broke; they took away the doors also off the hinges, and burned them, with part of the wainscot, in their bonfire: They broke the windows and stanchers, and the room next the meeting-house they abused

" and

CHAP. ber of male contents was sufficiently encreased,  
I. they began to act more openly.

The

1715.

" and defaced, so that the whole was all ruined and destroyed  
" except the walls and tiling. Yet all this did not cool their  
" rage, for they broke into the dwelling-house of our anti-  
" ent friend Thomas Nichol's daughter, who was a widow,  
" where Thomas also was ; and under pretence of searching  
" for a young nobleman, who, they said, was murdered and  
" hid there, or somewhere thereabout (though there was no  
" such thing at all, only they put on this senseless cover for  
" their wickedness). They broke all the windows, and threw  
" in some hundred weight of stones and dirt, covering the beds  
" therewith, breaking several things in the rooms, making  
" great destruction and shedding some blood. From thence  
" they went to the Baptist meeting-house, and destroyed it in  
" like manner ; and as they came up the street from that piece  
" of mischief, I lodging with young Thomas Nichols, we ex-  
" pected the same usage as the widow, his sister, had met  
" with, and therefore got for safety into the stair-case, he,  
" his wife and little children, my companion and I, and there  
" sat out of the way of the stones : and as they came up to the  
" house, they let fly their volley, broke all the windows, and  
" passed on without doing any more harm : But this I observ-  
" ed, that as Satan raged in them before they came, blowing  
" them up into a temper fit for the action, Truth in our minds  
" filled us with divine love and consolation, so that we were  
" without any fear or amazement of what they could do far-  
" ther. By the time all was over, it was about two in the  
" morning ; and there came in some of the sober neighbours,  
" who gave us some of the mob's unreasonable reasons for  
" their violence and outrage, as they had collected them, in  
" discoursing with some of them. They said that some of the  
" low party, on the seventh day afternoon, being at a tavern  
" in town, there drank healths and confusions ; and talked of  
" burning the late Queen's picture and Sacheverel's, and in  
" revenge of this, they gutted the Presbyterian meeting-house,  
" and their pretence for using us in the same manner was, be-  
" cause we voted for the low members of the present parlia-  
" ment."

I have

This spirit of turbulence and disaffection soon C H A P.  
 broke out into open rebellion in Scotland, and I.  
 the national discontent was, by his partisans, so ~~~~~  
 exaggerated to the Pretender, as to induce him <sup>1715.</sup> Rebellion  
 to make preparations to put himself at the <sup>in Scotland.</sup>  
 head of the insurgents, in which he was pri-  
 vately assisted by Lewis XIV. King of France,  
 who dying about this time, the rebellion lost  
 its support from that kingdom. The Duke of  
 Orleans being appointed Regent during the  
 young king's minority, had entered into en-  
 gagements with king George, and is supposed  
 to have rather contributed to defeat than to  
 promote it. However, the Pretender at last <sup>The Pretender</sup>  
 landed in Scotland and was crowned there. <sup>der lands</sup> <sub>there.</sub>

But

I have no doubt but rumours of this kind might be circulated by the contrivers and instigators of this tumult; but it seems to be principally intended, as an act of celebrating the festival of the *Restoration*, it being on the 29th of 3<sup>mo</sup>, O. S. called May, and also the first day of the week, on which day, considering the temper of the time (of which this riot is but one specimen) and the spirit of many of the public teachers, and the usual topics insisted on in their discourses on this day, it is rather more than probable, their sermons had no tendency to allay this ferment, but the contrary.

Thomas Story proceeds, "We went the next morning to view the ruins of our meeting-house, and our friend Nichols's; and as we were at the former, I stood upon a small eminence, and looking over the ruins (many scholars and other people being there) I said pretty loudly, so that all might hear, *can these be the effects of religion and learning!* Upon which several of the scholars hung down their heads; but none answered. Then Thomas Nichols, the younger, made a short speech, but very close, reminding them of Sodom and Gomorrah, that it was the same spirit that now wrought in them, which brought destruction on those cities: To which they replied, it was the mob, and it was ill done; but some others said, they themselves were that mob, and would be met with one day."

CHAP. I.  
1715.  
IRheilion quelled.

But previously to his arrival, one party of the rebels having entered England, and advanced to Preston in Lancashire, were there besieged, defeated and taken prisoners; and the same day their main body under the command of the Earl of Marr, met with a check, whereby they were dispersed. The Pretender's expectation thus failing, and finding no probability of drawing together an army sufficient to withstand the forces advancing against him, he sought security in a speedy retreat to France, which put an end to the rebellion.

This rebellion, thus successfully extirpated, brought many addresses of congratulation to the king, and among the rest the people called Quakers drew up an address from their yearly meeting, which they presented to the king on the last day of the third month, O. S. called May, this year; being introduced by the Earl of Manchester, G. Whitehead spake in substance as followeth:

That in the annual assembly held for the religious concerns of their society, endeavouring to promote and put in practice the duties of religion professed by them, the sense of the great deliverance had such a weight upon their minds, that they were willing to express it in an address to King George, whom God by his providence had brought hither and preserved, so that he could well say, he was *George by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, &c.* And that as men carried that saying stamped on the money in their pockets, so it was to be wished it might be imprinted in the hearts of the subjects.

Hereupon

Hereupon the address was presented and C H A P.  
read as follows : I.

“ To George, King of Great Britain, &c. 1715.

“ The humble Address of the People called  
“ Quakers, from their yearly Meeting in  
“ London, the 26th day of the third month,  
“ called May, 1716.

“ May it please the King,

“ WE thy faithful and peaceable subjects, Quakers  
“ being met in this our annual assembly, do address up-  
“ hold ourselves obliged, in point of principle on this occa-  
“ and gratitude, rather than by formal and  
“ frequent addresses, humbly and openly to  
“ acknowledge the manifold blessings and kind  
“ providences of God, which have attended  
“ these kingdoms ever since thy happy accession  
“ to the throne.

“ And as our religion effectually enjoins us  
“ obedience to the supreme authority, so it  
“ is with great satisfaction we pay it to a  
“ prince, whose justice, clemency and modera-  
“ tion cannot but endear, and firmly unite  
“ the hearts and affections of all his true protes-  
“ tant subjects.

“ We are therefore sorrowfully affected with  
“ the unhappiness of those our countrymen,  
“ who have so little gratitude or goodness as  
“ to be uneasy under so just and mild an ad-  
“ ministration ; nor can we reflect on the late  
“ unjust and unnatural rebellion, without con-  
“ cluding the promoters and actors thereof were  
“ men infatuated and hurried by such an evil  
“ spirit,

CHAP. " spirit as would lay waste and destroy both the  
 I. " civil and religious liberties of these protestant  
 nations

1715. " And as God, the Lord of Hosts, hath most  
 signally appeared to the confounding that  
 black conspiracy ; so we pray his good pro-  
 vidence may always attend the King's coun-  
 cils and undertakings, to the establishing his  
 throne in righteousness and peace, and making  
 his house a sure house.

" Permit us therefore, great Prince, to lay  
 hold of this opportunity to approach thy royal  
 presence, with our hearty thanks to the king  
 and great council for all the privileges and li-  
 berties we enjoy. To behold a prince upon  
 the throne, solicitous for the ease and happiness  
 of his people beyond any other views, so  
 heightens our satisfaction and joy, that we  
 want words to express our full sense thereof.  
 And therefore we can do no less than assure the  
 king, that as it is our duty to demean ourselves  
 towards the king's person and government  
 with all faithful obedience, so we are deter-  
 mined, by divine assistance, devoutly and  
 heartily to pray the God and Father of all our  
 mercies, to vouchsafe to the king a long,  
 peaceable and prosperous reign ; and that when  
 it shall please the Almighty to remove from us  
 so precious a life, by taking it to himself,  
 there may not want a branch of thy royal fami-  
 ly endowed with wisdom and virtue to fill the  
 throne, till time shall be no more."

To which address the King returned the follow-  
 ing Answер,

" I thank you for the assurance of duty and  
 affection to my person and government, con-  
 tained

"tained in this address; and you may always C H A P.  
"depend upon my protection."

I.

This year died Samuel Waldenfield, a member  
and minister of this society, highly esteemed for  
his virtuous conversation and his religious ser-  
vices, both in the city of London and its neigh-  
bourhood, and other parts where he was well  
known. He was born about the year 1652 at Ed-  
mundsbury in Suffolk; was religiously inclined  
from his youth, and for some time a hearer of  
the independents.

1715.

He was convinced of the principles of the peo-  
ple called Quakers, by the powerful ministry of  
Giles Barnadiston, and received the truth in the  
love thereof; as he became obedient to the grace  
of God to which he was recommended, he was  
instructed and enabled thereby to lead a sober  
and godly life, and to possess his earthly taber-  
nacle in sanctification and honour.

About the year 1672 he was called to the work  
of the ministry, in the discharge whereof he was  
zealous and indefatigable. He travelled in this  
service in England, Scotland, Ireland and Ger-  
many, by an account he kept, near 40,000 miles to  
the year 1703, and considerably from that time  
to his death; and his lively ministry, through  
the divine blessing prospering his labours, was  
made effectual to the conviction of many, and  
turning them from darkness unto light, who were  
as seals to the efficacy thereof.

In the year 1684 he married and settled in Lon-  
don, and continued faithful and diligent in the work  
to which he was called, when at liberty; for  
although by the time he became a resident in  
London and eminent for service in the society,  
persecution

**C H A P.** persecution was abated, he did not escape a share  
 I. in the sufferings of the season. At the sessions  
 ~~~~~ held at the Old Baily in the 10th month 1683, he,  
 1715. in company of sundry others, who, with him,
 had been taken from a peaceable meeting in
 White-hart-court, was tried for a riot, and by a
 jury of this age, when juries were modelled to
 the temper and influence of the bench, was, with
 the rest, brought in guilty, fined 5l. and com-
 mitted to prison for non-payment. A prosecution
 was also commenced against him on the statute 23
 Eliz. for 20l. a month for absence from the es-
 tablished worship in the year 1686; but by * King
 James's order to the Attorney General, a stop
 was put to that prosecution and others of the kind,
 as before related.

After this he continued frequent in his travels
 abroad, in religious visits to his friends in most
 of the counties of England, and more frequently
 in the eastern parts. Being clear in expression,
 animated with lively zeal, and reaching the wit-
 ness in the consciences of friends and others, his
 ministry was very acceptable and edifying, by
 means whereof, and of his solid, circumspect and
 exemplary conversation, adorning and confirm-
 ing it, he obtained the esteem of his friends
 abroad and at home.

In or about the year 1706, declining in health,
 he removed his residence from the city of Lon-
 don to Bush-hill in Middlesex; yet when the
 state of his health admitted, he continued his
 travels and his assistance with friends of the city,
 in their service for the relief of their suffering
 friends, and when disengaged from such services,
 he

* See vol. 3, p. 167.

he was exemplary in a constant attendance of the C H A P. meetings adjacent to him.

I.

1715.

He was eminently serviceable in the discipline of the society, as well as in his public ministry, having a zealous concern on his mind for the preservation of friends in a consistency with their profession, that the testimony of truth might be kept up in all the branches thereof; that pride and libertinism in principle and practice might be discouraged and suppressed: That those who act as rulers in the church, should be men of truth, fearing God and hating covetousness; and that all the members of the society might be careful to maintain justice and truth in all their dealings amongst men.

His circumspect conduct adorned his profession of religion, and acquired reputation to the society of which he was a member, so that many, who through prejudice, had entertained an unfavourable and contemptuous opinion of it, by their acquaintance and conversation with him, were brought to change their sentiments concerning it.

He was confined about two months before his decease, and although his pain was often great, he was supported with remarkable patience, and was frequently very cheerful, though his end drew near; for death was no terror to him, the sting thereof being taken away, having the comfortable evidence, that he had through life been mindful of his final change, and ordered his conversation with a view to make it a transition to everlasting felicity. So that in the retrospection of his past time he could say, as he did in much tenderness, *I have done the work of my day; I feel peace of conscience; I have wronged no man; I have*

CHAP. have received a great deal of wrong and injury,
I. but I forgive all, and I desire the Lord to forgive
them also. I die in charity with all the world.
1715. At another time he said, I have endeavoured to
live inoffensively towards God and Man. And now
I have no occasion to repent that I have endeavoured
to live well; and as I have nothing to boast of, I
have no occasion to complain. All is well.

Many other lively expressions and weighty exhortations he uttered, very affecting and edifying to those to whom they were addressed. He continued in a serene composed frame of mind to the last, and died in great peace the 7th of the 8th month 1715, and left a good report behind him: And being greatly beloved, and much respected by people of divers professions, his funeral had a numerous attendance from Devonshire-house meeting place, to the burial ground at Bunhill-fields.

C H A P. II.

Affirmation Act renewed.—Measures of Government to moderate party heats.—Bishop Hoadly's two Sermons and proceedings thereupon.—Repeal of Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts.—South Sea Scheme.—Petition to Parliament for a form of Affirmation which might be easy to all Friends.—Solicitations to procure the passing of an Act for that purpose.—Passed by the Commons.—Warmly debated in the House of Lords.—Petition against it.—Passed by the Lords.—Yearly Meeting's acknowledgment of the favour.—Epistle of Caution concerning the use thereof.—Account of Geo. Whitehead.—Case of some Friends in New-England appointed to assess Taxes.—Death of King George I.

THE passing of the Act of Toleration, and the effectual establishment thereof under the legal rule of the Princes of the Hanoverian line, having exempted the people called Quakers of this age from most of the grievous sufferings to which those of the preceding age were exposed; and having thereby obtained a settlement in quietude, their affairs furnish fewer materials for history than heretofore: yet there still remained some subjects of suffering from which the Toleration did not exempt them, particularly their scruple to pay tithes and other ecclesiastical demands. And although the legislature had in some degree endeavoured to give them ease in respect to swearing,

II.

1715.

C H A P. ing, yet the form of affirmation prescribed by the
 II. first affirmation-act, and continued in the suc-
 ceding acts, as before observed, was so uneasy
 1715. to a considerable part of the society, that they
 had not freedom to make use thereof, and there-
 fore submitted to the attendant inconveniences,
 rather than wound the peace of their own minds.

Affirmation act renew- ed. In 1715 the act for accepting the solemn affir-
 mation was renewed without limitation of time ;
 although the yearly meeting directed an application
 to be made to parliament, to grant the society
 a form of affirmation which might be easy to
 all friends, the temper of the time did not yet
 favour such a concession : An opportunity for
 further relief did not occur till the year 1721.
 In the intermediate time, the king (and the
 rulers under him) perceiving the disaffection of
 the party distinguished by the denomination of
 high-church and tories, and their propensity to
 stir up those riots and tumults which had, since
 the beginning of his reign, been nourished and
 fomented to perplex his government, disturb
 the public peace, and finally terminated in the
 late rebellion in favour of a popish pretender :
 And after it was quelled, their endeavours being
 still exerted to keep alive a spirit of discontent, it
Measures of government to moderate party heat. was judged necessary to clip the wings of the high-
 flying ecclesiastics in particular, by imitating the
 judicious conduct of the late King William,
 in selecting the most temperate and dispassionate
 men amongst them to fill the dignities and high-
 est stations in the church ; who being men of mo-
 deration themselves, might be instrumental to
 diffuse a spirit of greater moderation among the
 inferior orders, than they had hitherto manifest-
 ed ;

ed ; or to discountenance and check the violence C H A P.
of their disposition to revive and keep alive party II.
heats.

One of these exerted his talents for this purpose, 1717.
in a particular manner. Benjamin Hoadly bishop Hoadly's
of Bangor, a man of liberal sentiments, a clear two ser-
head, and sound understanding, had published mons, and
two performances, which had given great offence proceedings
to his brethren the clergy ; especially those who thereupon.
were jealous of every prerogative to which they advanced their groundless claims. One was entitled, *A preservative against the principles and practices of the nonjurors.* The other was a sermon preached before the King at the chapel royal, under the title of *the nature of the Kingdom of Christ,* in which, I have understood, the two principal points insisted upon are, that the ministers of the gospel, as such, have no authority to busy themselves in secular government ; nor the magistrate to punish men for matters of religion, which, although considered dispassionately, are almost self-evident propositions ; yet at this time, when the people's passions were more consulted than their reason, and violently heated in favour of high-church, these discourses roused the whole host of high-priests to combat propositions the most reasonable, which they imagined had a tendency to expose the illegality of their claims. The lower house of convocation, when they met, took up the matter with marks of great offence and resentment, and appointed a committee of six of their members to examine the Bishop's publications, who drew up a representation, in which the *Preservative* and *Sermon* were censured, ^a as "tending to subvert all government
" and

^a Smollet.

CHAP. " and discipline in the church of Christ ; to re-
 II. " duce his kingdom to a state of anarchy and
 ~~~ " confusion ; to impugn and impeach the royal  
 1717. " supremacy in causes ecclesiastical, and the  
 " authority of the legislature, *to enforce obedience*  
 " *in matters of religion by civil sanctions.*" How  
 far their indignation against this liberal prelate  
 and his rational doctrine might have carried them,  
 they were deprived of the power of discovering ;  
 for the king and his ministers seem to have con-  
 ceived a more favourable opinion of the Bishop  
 and his performances, and therefore rescued him  
 out of their hands, by an immediate prorogation  
 of the convocation, which hath not been permit-  
 ted to sit and do business since that period.

This inflamed the controversy ; but the bishop  
 being now upon equal terms with his antagonists,  
 who were a numerous body, and having truth and  
 reason on his side, ably defended himself and his  
 doctrine against them all, with manifest advan-  
 tage. This controversy, wisely conducted on  
 his part, tended to open the eyes of many peo-  
 ple, to see the invalidity of clerical claims to un-  
 authorized dominion and power, and proved a  
 very seasonable antidote to that spirit of tumult  
 and intemperate riot, which, through their insti-  
 gation, had long infected the injudicious rabble  
 and others to public disorder and private in-  
 jury.

1718.  
 Repeal of  
 the acts  
 against oc-  
 casional  
 conformity  
 and the  
 growth of  
 schism.

In the succeeding year the high-churchmen  
 met with another mortification, by the repeal of  
 the act against occasional conformity and the  
 growth of schism, which two acts they had pro-  
 cured during their predominancy in the latter  
 end of Queen Anne's reign, which the bishop  
 of

of Bangor (in the debate) considered in effect C H A P.  
 " persecuting laws, because, by admitting the II.  
 " principle of self-preservation and self-defence  
 " in matters of religion, all the persecutions  
 " maintained by the heathens against the pro-  
 " fessors of christianity, and even the popish  
 " inquisition might be justified. With respect  
 " to the power, of which so many clergymen  
 " appeared to be so fond and zealous, he  
 " owned, the desire of power and riches was  
 " natural to all men; but that he had learn-  
 " ed, both from reason and from the gospel,  
 " that this must be kept within due bounds,  
 " and not entrench upon the rights and li-  
 " berties of their fellow-creatures and coun-  
 " trymen." This bill of repeal met with great  
 opposition from the high party in both houses,  
 but at last was passed.

These transactions tended to lessen the power and influence of the high clergy and their partisans: And to leave the king at liberty to follow the impulse of his liberality and benevolence, in securing to all his subjects their natural rights of civil and religious liberty, which encouraged the people called Quakers to hope for the favourable opportunity they waited for, to procure a solemn affirmation in that simplicity of form, which might afford them universal relief.

In this year died at his seat at Rushcomb near Twyford in Buckinghamshire, William Penn, proprietor of Pennsylvania; he had been for some years in a declining state. So long before as the year 1712, he had three successive

William  
Penn's  
death and  
character.

CHAP.  
11.  
1718.

his, supposed to be apoplectic, by the last of which (although beyond all probability of expectation he survived it) his understanding and memory were very much impaired, so as to render him incapable of public action for the future. And notwithstanding the intermission of his intellectual faculties, and the progressive failure of his memory, his love to religion and sense of religious enjoyments apparently continued with him; for he often went in his chariot to the meeting at Reading, and there sometimes uttered short, but very sound and favourly expressions. One morning preparing to go to meeting, he expressed his desire to the Lord, that they might receive some good from him: And though he continued declining from year to year in his memory and understanding, he still expressed himself sensibly at times. In the year 1716 some of his friends, who came to visit him, taking their leave, he said, " My love is with you, the Lord preserve you, and remember me in the everlasting covenant!" Thus, in the absence of his mental powers, and in his evening repose, his piety and innocence of heart were still discernible as the predominating qualities in him.

After a continued and gradual declension for about six years, his body drew near to its dissolution, and on the 30th day of the fifth month 1718, in the 74th year of his age, his soul, prepared for a more glorious habitation, forsook the decayed tabernacle, which was interred the 5th of the sixth month following, at Jordans in Buckinghamshire.

For if a life of pure religion exerted active-<sup>C H A P.</sup>  
ly in a constant tenour of beneficence and good  
will to men, faithfully discharging his relative  
duties, religious, moral, and political in every sta-  
tion of life ; and passively in patient acquiescence  
in the divine will, and the testimony of a good  
conscience, in all his trials and sufferings (of  
which he had his share) a simple reliance on  
divine support under them, and on divine pro-  
tection and power to work his deliverance,  
can recommend to the favour of God : If  
fighting the good fight of faith, and therein  
being made conquerors and more than con-  
querors over all our spiritual enemies through  
him that loved us, entitle, in any wise to the  
crown of righteousness, can we doubt his being  
made a partaker of the promise of Christ ;  
Rev. 3. 21. “ To him that overcometh,  
“ will I grant to sit with me in my throne,  
“ as I also overcame and am set down  
“ with my father in his throne.” The ac-  
count of his convincement and early trou-  
bles therein, and the outlines of his principal  
transactions in life have been described in course.  
To expatiate on the eminency of his charac-  
ter seems superfluous, the excellency thereof  
being well known and generally admitted.  
His writings (comprised in two volumes folio)  
are a standing evidence of a clear head and a  
good heart; the institutions of his province,  
of the depth of his understanding; and the  
undeviating integrity of his life, of the purity  
of his mind: and all his qualifications, natural  
and acquired, applied to promote the interests of  
religion and virtue, establish his character on a  
basis firmer than written panegyrics.

**C H A P.** The parliament being taken up with various  
 II. matters of public importance, particularly in  
 ~~~~~ 1720, the investigation of the fraudulent practice  
 1720. in the south sea scheme*, and relieving the suf-
 South Sea Scheme. ferers

* An historian remarks upon this æra to this purport, The avarice of the times had increased with the riches and the luxury of the nation. Commerce introduced fraud, and wealth introduced prodigality; and religion, which might in some measure put a stop to these evils, was too little regarded. The whole nation was infected with a spirit of avaricious enterprise.

Goldsmit.

The people called Quakers endeavoured to guard their members from the contagion, by the following cautionary advice, in the Epistle from their Yearly Meeting, 1720. " As " our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ exhorted to take heed and " beware of covetousness, (which is idolatry) we are concern- " ed, that all professing christianity among us may take heed " of pride, covetousness, and hastening to be rich in this world, " which are pernicious, growing evils; let them be watched " against, resisted and suppressed, in the fear and dread of " Almighty God, and have no place or countenance in the " church. O! ye grave elders, both men and women, pray " be careful and watchful against these evils, and over the " flock in these cases." And in the Epistle of 1721, " Whereas friends were weightily concerned to advise and " caution, in the last yearly Epistle, all professing with us, to " take heed of pride, covetousness, and hastening to be rich, " as pernicious and growing evils; which advice having not " been duly regarded by some, they have been unwarily drawn " into such things as have tended not only to the dishonour of " God, but also their own loss and sorrow. We therefore " find ourselves now again concerned, earnestly to press all " friends to be diligent in the observation thereof: and to in- " treat that such, who may have been so misled, may come to " a due sense of it, and sincerely repent.

" And whereas, in our Epistle of 1719, we did earnestly " caution against defrauding the king of his customs, duties, " or excise, or encouraging such clandestine practices, by buy- " ing goods reasonably suspected to be run; in which advice

" this

ferers thereby, the favourable opportunity the c H A P. people called Quakers were waiting for, to procure II. a law for such form of affirmation, as might be more univerfally easy to their members, did not occur till the next year, when being encouraged with hopes of success, they took such previous steps as appeared to them expedient to facilitate the progress and passing of an act for that purpose. The first was an application of Joseph Wyeth, in a letter to the king, which it is supposed was of good service to the cause, as he was well known and well respected by the king, whose countenance to the application was doubtless greatly contributory to its success. 1720.

1721.

The next was a pction to parliament as followeth :

“ The humble petition of the People called
“ Quakers, on behalf of such of their friends
“ who scruple the present form of affirmation,

“ Sheweth,

“ That they humbly beg, thankfully to remember, that the first legal privileges which, as a people they were favoured with, were granted in the reign of King William III. of happy memory, amongst which privi-
“ leges

“ this meeting having in that epistle been very particular, doth refer thereunto, and pres the same again; and that friends do honestly and cheerfully pay their tributes to the government, under which they enjoy protection. And as we warn against the injustice aforesaid, so likewise against all the provoking sins of this age, which draw down the heavy judgments of God.”

C H A P. " leges was, that their solemn affirmation should
 II. " in certain cases be accepted instead of an
 ~~~ " oath, which being made perpetual in the  
 1721. " first year of our present gracious sovereign,  
 " they now most gratefully acknowledge: That  
 " they also beg leave to observe, that many  
 " of their friends do conscientiously scruple  
 " the present form of solemn affirmation, where-  
 " by they have fallen under great sufferings  
 " by imprisonment or loss in their property,  
 " they being not able to answer in courts of  
 " equity, take probates of wills, prove debts  
 " on commission of bankruptcies, verify their  
 " entries on the leather or candle act, take up  
 " their freedoms in corporations, be admitted  
 " to their polls on their freeholds, give evidence  
 " on behalf of others not of their persua-  
 " sion, declare their fidelity to the present go-  
 " vernment, or take the effect of the abjuration  
 " as by law required, all which they humbly  
 " conceive are hardships, which by these acts  
 " were intended to be removed and prevented.

" The petitioners therefore most humbly  
 " pray, that leave be given to bring in a bill  
 " for such form of affirmation or declaration  
 " as may remove these difficulties, which many  
 " of them lie under, or such other relief as  
 " as you in your wisdom shall see meet. And  
 " your petitioners shall pray."

The above petition was signed by one hundred and thirty two friends.

Besides

Besides these applications, others were made C H A P.  
by particular friends to such members of both  
houses, I presume, as they were acquainted  
with, had influence upon, or were apprehend- II.  
ed to be friendly. Thomas Story, in particu- 1721.  
lar, applied to the Earl of Carlisle, who readily  
promised his interest and influence, and de- Applicati-  
sired his son, styled the Lord Morpeth, to do  
the same in the house of commons, of which  
he was a member. He advised Thomas to make  
his first application to the Earl of Sunderland,  
secretary of state, and procured him an oppor-  
tunity of speaking to him. Thomas informed  
him, "that though the king, his ministry, and  
" the parliament intended the people called  
" Quakers a great favour in perpetuating the  
" affirmation act, as it then stood, yet it did  
" not answer the end proposed; for a great part  
" of that people could not comply with it,  
" the terms, in their apprehension, importing a  
" difference from the doctrine of Christ." He  
then produced the form of the act, and also  
that which the meeting had agreed to, which,  
when the Earl of Sunderland had perused, he  
said, " You might have had the latter as soon  
" as the former if you had applied for it; for  
" what we did was to serve you in your own  
" way; and you yourselves soliciting for it, we  
" thought we had fully gratified you; and were  
" informed that a very few of you were dis-  
" satisfied with that form, and those a few  
" among you, misled by Mr. Penn in disloy-  
" alty to the government and in favour to the  
" Pretender, and who did not desire it of the  
" present government, hoping for it by another  
" in

CHAP. " in time ; and those who were satisfied with  
 II. " that form were Mr. Mead's friends, and prin-  
 ciples " cipled for the revolution and present govern-  
 1721. " ment in the house of Hanover ; and one sort  
 " called Pennites and the other Meadites." \*

To this Thomas Story replied, " This is only  
 " a calumny artfully invented to defame our  
 " society, and render the more distressed sus-  
 " pected by the king and government, that we  
 " might receive no relief ; and it is a great  
 " cruelty

\* Remarks of the like kind were formerly made by King William upon the personal application of some friends to him in relation to their suffering for tithes, and preparing the way for the first Affirmation A&E. Whereby we may observe how Princes are frequently imposed upon, and subjects misrepresented, frequently unknown to them, where they have no opportunity to vindicate themselves. The King in the course of their conversation, remarked, " You are a divided people and some " of you disaffected to the government." To which George Whitehead and others replied, " As we are a people we are " not divided, but in union. Although some have separated " from us, and therefore *are not of us*, most of these were " some disorderly persons, who were therefore denied by us." To the latter charge George Whitehead replied, " Tis an hard " matter for us to enter into the private affections of persons " without some overt act ; whereby we do not know that any " of our friends have manifested any disaffection to the govern- " ment ; for if we did certainly know, that any of these in " communion with us, should in word or deed shew any disaf- " fection to the present government, we should certainly dis- " own them therein, and give testimony against them. 'Tis " true we have been aspersed and misrepresented with such " nicknames as *Meadites* and *Pennites*, as if we set up sect-masters " among us, yet we own no such thing, but CHRIST JESUS to " be our *only Master*, as we are a christian society and people." The King appeared serious and well satisfied, and befriended them in their applications for relief in both cases.

“ cruelty and hardship. I do not know or ever heard of any such fact, party or parties among us, so attached to William Penn or William Mead, or any other person; for we are not a people subject to be led by sect-masters, but to follow God and Christ only in matters of religion; and as such, the denying of all oaths we believe to be a part of our duty. And as to those who are among us, who cannot comply with the present affirmation, I know they are as loyal to king George, and as true to his government, as any of his subjects in all his dominions; for I have lately been amongst them in a general way. And the Earl of Carlisle himself likewise knows, that many of our friends, whom he hath relieved by his interest, who had suffered much for non-compliance with the affirmation, were as loyal as any others.”

II.

1721.

The result of this conference was such as gave the friends good hope of success, as they had reason to believe the Earl of Sunderland would be their friend in their application to parliament.

Further applications were made to the duke of Somerset, the bishops of Canterbury, York, and Carlisle, who all behaved courteously; but the archbishop of York signified he could not befriend them in that case. It looks by these applications, as if the greatest opposition was expected in the house of peers.

The aforesaid petition being delivered, the house of commons complied with the request thereof; but it produced a warm debate in the house

**C H A P.** house of peers. Several of the bishops, who by  
 II. their opposition, exceptions and amendments,  
~~1721.~~ contrived to form the affirmation into the sub-  
 stance of an oath in their own opinions, as was  
 confessed by some of themselves, and laid the  
 foundation for the present application, exerted  
 their endeavours to prevent the success thereof.  
 Atterbury, bishop of Rochester,<sup>a</sup> a man of great  
 parts and great learning, but ambitious, factious  
 and turbulent both in church and state; the  
 champion of the high church party, and a de-  
 termined foe to the dissenting interest, reflected  
 upon the people called Quakers upon this oc-  
 casion with his accustomed acrimony, saying,  
 " he did not know, why such a distinguishing  
 mark of indulgence should be allowed to a  
 set of people who were *hardly christians.*"<sup>b</sup> He  
 was seconded by the Earl of Stafford, Lords  
 North and Grey, and the Archbishop of York;  
 these were opposed by the Earl of Sunderland,  
 the Duke of Argyll, White Kennet Bishop of  
 Peterborough, the Earl of Ilay, and the Earl of  
 Macklesfield; and the question being put for  
 committing the bill, it was carried in the affir-  
 mative by sixty-four against fourteen. On the  
 17th, 11<sup>m</sup>. O. S. commonly called January, the  
 lords were to go into a grand committee on the  
 bill, but were prevented by an unexpected  
 petition from some of the London clergy, which  
 was presented by the Archbishop of York, and  
 was as follows:

" To

<sup>a</sup> Burnet.

<sup>b</sup> History of Religions.

Warmly de-  
bated in the  
house of  
Lords.

“ To the right honourable the Lords Spiritual  
“ and Temporal in Parliament assembled.

II.  
1721.

“ The humble\* petition of the Clergy in and  
“ about London, with all submission,

“ Sheweth,

“ That there is a bill now depending in <sup>Petition of</sup> your Lordships house, entitled, *An act for* <sup>some Lon-</sup> *granting the people called Quakers, such a form* <sup>den Clergy</sup> *against it.*  
“ *of affirmation or declaration, as may remove the*  
“ *difficulties, which many of them labour under.*  
“ Which bill, should it pass into a law, as  
“ it may in its consequences nearly affect the  
“ property

\* That this petition was looked upon in an unfavourable light, and as procured to serve a purpose, by many of the peers, is manifest from the conference, which Thomas Story relates, he had with the Duke of Somerset on the day the bill was passed. Thomas Story informed him, “ that as he came, he heard both universities intended to petition against the bill, as the clergy in and about London had already done, which might occasion much trouble and delay.” The Duke replied, “ perhaps Oxford may attempt something that way, being influenced by the Bishops of York, Chester, Rochester, and the rest of that sort; but if they should, they are obnoxious. As to Cambridge they have done nothing. There are a set of fellows calling themselves the clergy in and about London, who have sent in a petition, wherein they pretend to blame both houses of parliament for encraging a sect, which they rank with Turks, Jews and other Infidels; as if we were to be imposed upon by them, and receive their dictates, or knew not what to do without their directions: Besides we do not know who they are; for there are five hundred of the clergy in and about London, and we find only forty-one names to their petition, and these very obscure.”

CHAP. " property of the subject in general, so it will  
11. " in a more especial manner, endanger the  
~~ legal maintenance of the clergy by tithes;  
1721. " inasmuch as the people called Quakers pre-  
" tend to deny the payment upon a principle  
" of conscience; and therefore as your petiti-  
" oners apprehend, may be under strong in-  
" duements to ease their consciences in that  
" respect, by violating them in another, when  
" their simple affirmation in behalf of friends  
" of the same persuasion shall pass in all courts  
" of judicature for legal evidence.

" However, the injuries that your petitioners  
" in their private affairs may possibly suffer,  
" are, as they ought to be, of small account  
" with them, in comparison of the mischiefs  
" which may redound to society from the in-  
" dulgence intended, as it seems to imply, that  
" justice may be duly administered, and go-  
" vernment supported, without the intervention  
" of a solemn appeal to God, as a witness of  
" the truth of what is said, by all persons, in  
" all cases, of great importance to the com-  
" mon welfare; whereas your petitioners are  
" firmly persuaded, that an oath was instituted  
" by God himself, as the surest bond of fidelity  
" among men, and hath been esteemed, and  
" found to be so, by the wisdom and experience  
" of all ages and all nations.

" But that which chiefly moves your petiti-  
" oners to apply to your lordships, is their seri-  
" ous concern, lest the minds of good men  
" should be grieved and wounded, and the  
" enemies of christianity triumph, when they  
" shall see such condescensions made, by a  
" christian

" christian legislature, to a set of men who  
" renounce the divine institution of Christ, II.  
" particularly that by which the faithful are       
" initiated into his religion, and denominat<sup>ed</sup> 1721.  
" christians; and who cannot, on this account,  
" according to the uniform judgment and prac-  
" tice of the catholic church, be deemed worthy  
" of that sacred name.

" Your petitioners moreover crave leave to  
" represent to your Lordships, that, upon the  
" best information they can get, the instances  
" wherein any Quaker hath refused the solemn  
" affirmation, prescribed by an act in the seventh  
" and the eighth year of William III. have,  
" from the passing of that act to this day,  
" been exceeding rare; so that there might be  
" ground to hope, that the continued use of  
" the said solemn affirmation would, by de-  
" grees, have entirely cured that people of all  
" those unreasonable prejudices against an oath,  
" which the favour designed them by this  
" bill may tend to strengthen and confirm.

" And your petitioners humbly leave it to  
" your lordships wise deliberations, whether  
" such an extraordinary indulgence granted to  
" a people already, as is conceived, too numer-  
" ous, may not contribute to multiply their  
" sect, and tempt persons to profess them-  
" selves Quakers, in order to be exempted  
" from the obligation of oaths, and to stand  
" upon a foot of privilege not allowed to  
" the best christians in the kingdom. Your  
" petitioners therefore humbly hope, that these  
" and other considerations which may offer  
" themselves to your lordships great wisdom,  
" " may

CHA P. " may induce your lordships not to give your  
 H. " consent to the passing of this bill into a  
 ~ " law,  
 1721.

" And your petitioners shall ever pray, &c."

The archbishop of York spoke in behalf of this petition, and moved that it might be read; and he was seconded by several bishops and noblemen. However, the petition was branded as a seditious libel, and rejected by the majority. On the 18<sup>th</sup> 11<sup>mo</sup>. O. S. called January, the lords went into a committee on the bill, and after reading the first clause, the archbishop of Canterbury moved, that the Quakers affirmation might not be allowed in courts of judicature, but among themselves; and the archbishop of York moved for a clause, that the Quakers affirmation should not go in any suit at law for tithes; but after some debate, the question being put thereupon, was carried in the negative by fifty two voices against twenty-one; and the question being put in the house, whether the bill should pass, it was resolved in the affirmative.

By this bill the affirmation was established in this simple form, *I, A. B. do solemnly, sincerely, and truly declare and affirm* which ever ease and relief was extended universally to the members of this society in respect to oaths, and to the inconveniences and losses in their commercial engagements, to which, on many occasions they were liable, through their incapacity to give a legal testimony without injuring the peace of their own consciences; for which favour they were

The bill  
passed by  
the Lords.

were thankful, in the first place, to that divine C H A P. Being, who turneth the hearts of Kings and II. Princes; and next, to the King and his minis- ters for their particular favour, as expressed in 1721. the epistle from their next yearly meeting 1722, as follows :

“ We acknowledge the goodness of God, in The yearly meetings acknowledging the favour.  
“ disposing the legislature to grant us, the last  
“ session of parliament, such form of affirmation,  
“ as, by accounts received, we find very satis-  
“ factory to all the brethren; for which we are,  
“ truly thankful to God, and those in autho-  
“ rity. And as we are well satisfied with the care  
“ of friends in London, in their addressing the  
“ king thereupon, and thankful for his excel-  
“ lent and favourable answer, so also with their  
“ care in writing and dispersing the late epistle  
“ of caution concerning the use thereof. Which  
“ good advice this meeting recommends with  
“ the greatest eagerness, that there be no other  
“ than an honest and conscientious use made of  
“ this farther indulgence granted us.”

Of the Epistle referred to in the foregoing paragraph, this is a copy :

“ An Epistle of caution to friends in general, Epilele of caution con-  
“ relating to the solemn affirmation, from a cerning the use thereof.  
“ meeting held in London the 2d of the first  
“ month, January, 1721-2.

“ Dear Friends and Brethren,

“ This meeting, under a weighty sense of the  
“ great favour, which it hath pleased the Lord  
“ to

C H A P. " to incline the heart of the king and those in  
 II. " the government to grant us, by passing into a  
 1721-2. " law a form of solemn affirmation, which will  
 " remove the conscientious scruples many friends  
 " lay under (and thereby enable all to follow  
 " their lawful occupations, trades and concerns,  
 " without lett or hindrance on any account)  
 " doth find a concern to recommend to all  
 " friends in their quarterly, monthly, and par-  
 " ticular meetings, where this law doth or may  
 " extend.

" That they in an especial manner have a  
 " watchful eye and oversight of their several  
 " members, that this great favour be not abused  
 " or misused by any professing truth with us.

" Our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ  
 " told his disciples, *Ye are the light of the world,*  
 " *a city set on a hill cannot be hid.* And in every  
 " age, as many as do walk in obedience to  
 " his gospel, must unavoidably be so: *the daily*  
 " *cross and self-denial*, which he doth enjoin  
 " (those sure tokens of a christian discipline)  
 " are public marks easily seen, and readily ob-  
 " served by those with whom we have occasion  
 " of business or converse, and our transacting  
 " hereof with uprightness, justice and modera-  
 " tion, will shew that we have an awful regard  
 " to our Lord Jesus Christ, whom we acknow-  
 " ledge and declare to be our great lawgiver and  
 " example.

" The great end and design of the new co-  
 " venant, *grace and truth*, which is come by  
 " him, is to draw men into obedience to his  
 " law written in the heart, by which only the  
 " infide can be made clean, and according  
 " to the degrees of obedience to this divine  
 " law,

“ law, which the apostle calls *the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus*, the proper effect thereof will appear, that is, the outside will be clean also. Hereby truth, justice, righteousness and charity, will shine forth in the words and actions of such, and then may truly be applied to them the saying of Christ, “ *a city that is set upon a hill cannot be hid.*

C H A P.  
II.

1722.

“ Beside the *inward* engagements of this divine law, to speak and act according to truth, there is at this time also an outward engagement, which the government hath laid upon us, not only by the favour of this act, but also by the manner wherein they have confirmed it. For in the preamble it is said—  
 “ It is evident that the said people called Quakers have not abused the liberty and indulgence allowed them by law.”

“ Which testimony of the legislature concerning the use of the late solemn affirmation, upon twenty-five years experience, ought at least to stir up *all friends* to great watchfulness and care, in the use of this further ease and relief, that this testimony may be continued, and thereby confirm the government in their favourable sentiments concerning us.

“ And seeing this signal indulgence may draw the eyes and observations of many people upon us, it may be expected among these, some will look on us with an evil eye, watch for our halting, and seek occasion against us upon any mis-use or abuse of this legal privilege, which any professing truth with us, or but bearing the name, should fall into, or commit.

CHAP. " First, therefore, that there be no misuse  
 11. " of this favour, we do earnestly desire  
 1722. " and entreat, that the several meetings do  
     " advise and exhort friends that they watch  
     " against all vexatious and trifling causes of  
     " differences, and not for any such cause im-  
     " plead or commence suits of law upon the en-  
     " couragement of this solemn affirmation, for  
     " that would certainly be a perverting the good  
     " design of the government, in granting there-  
     " of, and must be deemed a great misuse of this  
     " privilege.

" Secondly, that there be no abuse thereof  
 " committed, we do in like manner intreat and  
 " desire that friends may be exhorted and ad-  
 " vised, when any just and valuable occasion  
 " doth require any to make use of this affir-  
 " mation, that such friend or friends be very  
 " considerate and sure of the truth of what  
 " they are about to affirm; for where property  
 " or liberty are concerned, a false or corrupt  
 " evidence is very injurious, and may prove  
 " destructive; besides it ought on all occasions  
 " to be remembered, that a false witness shall  
 " not be unpunished, and he that speaketh lies  
 " shall not escape\*, and that the command, thou  
 " shalt not bear false witness†, is as well in the  
 " gospel as in the law, and that all liars shall  
 " have their part in the lake which burneth with  
 " fire and brimstone†. To these inward obliga-  
 " tions on the conscience of truth speaking,  
 " there is also added the outward guard of pains,  
 " penalties and forfeitures, to be inflicted on  
 " such as shall lawfully be convicted of wilful,

\* Prov. xix. 5.    † Rom. xiii. 9.    ‡ Rev. xxi. 8.

" false

“ false and corrupt affirming or declaring, as if C H A P.  
 “ the same person had been convicted of wil- II.  
 “ ful and corrupt perjury.

“ We cannot omit also to remind you, that  
 “ should any under our name, so far depart  
 “ from the righteous law of God, as herein to  
 “ become guilty, they will thereby contract to  
 “ themselves perpetual infamy, and to the  
 “ body whereof they may pretend to be mem-  
 “ bers, very great scandal and reproach, and  
 “ such instances repeated might provoke the go-  
 “ vernment to deprive us of this great benefit.  
 “ How great would be the load of guilt on any,  
 “ who should be the occasion thereof!

“ Let it therefore be considered that the  
 “ ground of our petitioning and soliciting for  
 “ this further ease and relief was a conscienc-  
 “ ous scruple; how infamous therefore would  
 “ it be for any who profess a scruple to swear  
 “ at all, at the same time to be guilty of false  
 “ affirming, and while they pretend to great  
 “ degrees of purity, to fall short of common-  
 “ honesty; it is indeed among the highest de-  
 “ grees of hypocrisy, a crime abhorred by God  
 “ and man.

“ Dear friends, under the very weighty con-  
 “ sideration of these things, this epistle is re-  
 “ commended to you, in order to stir up all to  
 “ be careful upon every occasion to prevent  
 “ the many evils and mischiefs which may en-  
 “ sue upon the abuse of so great a favour,  
 “ which care we think may in some measure be  
 “ answered by two or three faithful and judi-  
 “ cious friends, attending the assizes and quar-  
 “ ter sessions in every county, whereby they  
 “ may be of service in several respects; as

CHAP. " first, if there should come to those courts any  
 II. " pretending to be Quakers, and under that  
 ~~~~~ " pretence require to be admitted to our so-  
 1722. " lemn affirmation, and thereby excuse them-
 " selves from an oath, which they may hold as
 " a great sanction, to the prejudice of an honest
 " cause, which may suffer through such deceit ;
 " while in truth they are not Quakers, nor by
 " us reputed such ; here friends will be at hand
 " to detect such impostors. Secondly, they will
 " have service in advising any friends, who may
 " be obliged to attend either at the assizes or
 " sessions in any cause, wherein they may stand
 " in need, as also to be assisting to any friend,
 " that no impositions, or addition of words be
 " put to the affirmation, either unwarily or de-
 " signedly, by any officer, with purpose to en-
 " snare.

" To all these particulars we think it neces-
 " sary to add, and very earnestly and tenderly
 " to recommend to all friends, that as much as
 " may be they avoid all disputes and differen-
 " ces with their neighbours, and as much as
 " possible ^d follow peace with all men ; and in a
 " particular manner we do press that all dis-
 " putes and differences between friends be avoid-
 " ed, or if any do happen, that earnest endea-
 " vours be used, by accommodation or equita-
 " ble and impartial reference to end them with-
 " out going to law, that so the rebuke of the
 " apostle may not necessarily be applied to any,
 " * now therefore there is utterly a fault among
 " you, because ye go to law with one another.

* Heb. xii. 14.

^e Cor. vi. 7.

“ Dear friends, these things in a christian C H A P.
 “ concern of mind we have represented, in or- II.
 “ der that all may be stirred up to an humble ~~~~~
 “ and faithful walking, not as knowing that any 1722.
 “ will fall short in the above particulars. ‘ But,
 “ beloved, we are persuaded better things of you;
 “ and things that accompany salvation, though
 “ we thus speak.

“ Signed in and on behalf of the said meeting by

“ BENJAMIN BEALING.”

By an act, 22 Geo. II. 1749, * the affirmation was made perpetual, and to operate in all cases, wherein by any act or acts of parliament now in force, or hereafter to be made, an oath is required, although no particular or express mention be made for that purpose in such act or acts, with the same force as an oath, except in criminal cases, to serve on juries, or to bear any office or place of profit in the government.

Affirmation
extended to
all cases,
whether
particularly
expressed in
any act or
no.

In

f Heb. vi. 9.

* In an act, intituled an act for continuing several laws, and for allowing the Quakers to make affirmation, &c. is the following clause; “ And whereas a doubt has arisen whether the solemn affirmation or declaration of the people called Quakers, prescribed by an act made in the eighth year of the reign of his late majesty king George the first, intituled an act for granting the people called Quakers such forms of affirmation or declaration as may remove the difficulties, which many of them lie under, can be allowed and taken instead of an oath, in any case wherein by any act or acts of parliament an oath is required, unless the said affirmation or declaration be by such act or acts of parliament particularly and expressly directed to be

C H A P. In this year that eminent minister and serviceable member of this society, George Whitehead, of the city of London, departed this life ;
 1722-3. Account of G. Whitehead. whose religious labours for the convincement and edification of friends, sufferings for his testi-

be allowed and taken instead of such oath, by reason of which doubt the testimony of the said people called Quakers is frequently refused, whereby the said people, and others requiring their evidence, are subject to great inconveniences ; therefore, for removing the said doubt, be it enacted and declared, by the authority aforesaid, that in all cases wherein by any act or acts of parliament now in force, or hereafter to be made, an oath is or shall be allowed, authorized, directed or required, the solemn affirmation or declaration of any of the people called Quakers, in the form prescribed by the said act made in the eighth year of his said late majesty's reign, shall be allowed and taken instead of such oath, although no particular or express provision be made for that purpose in such act or acts ; and all persons who are or shall be authorized or required to administer such oath, shall be, and are hereby authorized and required to administer the said affirmation or declaration ; and the said solemn affirmation or declaration so made, as aforesaid, shall be adjudged and taken, and is hereby enacted and declared to be of the same force and effect, to all intents and purposes, in all courts of justice, and other places, where by law an oath is or shall be allowed, authorized, directed or required, as if such Quaker had taken an oath in the usual form ; and if any person making such affirmation or declaration shall be lawfully convicted of having wilfully, falsely and corruptly affirmed or declared any matter or thing, which, if the same had been deposited upon oath in the usual form would have amounted to wilful and corrupt perjury, every person so offending shall incur and suffer the like pains, penalties and forfeitures, as by the laws and statutes of this realm are to be inflicted on persons convicted of wilful and corrupt perjury. Provided nevertheless, and be it enacted, that no Quaker shall, by virtue of this act, be qualified or permitted to give evidence in any criminal cases, or to serve on juries, or bear any office or place of profit in the government ; any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding."

timony,

timony, and repeated solicitations to the government, under a sympathetic concern for the relief of his friends under suffering, have supplied considerable materials for different parts of this history, and thereby the present narrative of his life and actions may be comprised in a review of his early years, his convincement and his character, by his friends who were personally acquainted with him.

C H A P.
H.

1723.

He was born at Sun-bigg, in the parish of Orton, in the county of Westmorland, about the year 1636, of honest and reputable parents, who gave him a good education at the free-school of Blencoe in Cumberland, where he made a considerable proficiency in those called the learned languages. As to profession of religion he was brought up in the society of the Presbyterians. But perceiving pretty early in life, about the 14th year of his age, that those people and ministers did not in life and conversation act up to the purity of their professions, he could not cordially join with them, before he had heard of the existence of such a people as those distinguished by the reproachful denomination of Quakers; and being influenced with a secret desire after something more substantial than he was yet acquainted with, was at a loss where to find what he wanted, and became even bewildered in the search.

Having about this time some religious discourse with some sober-minded young men, by whom he heard of a few people called Quakers at Sedbergh in Yorkshire, and in the barony of Kendal in Westmorland, he concluded to go to a meeting of theirs, which was held at Captain Ward's, at Sunny-Bank near Grayrig; and here

we

CHAP. we have an instance that a very few words spoken from a heart affected with an inward sense of divine impression may be more effectual under divine influence, to fix the best impressions on the minds of others, than the most elaborate discourses of lettered eloquence, as a short recommendation of a little captive maid, was conducive to the healing the Assyrian captain of his leprosy. He was sensible as he sat in the meeting, of the work of the power of the Lord, reducing, humbling and contriting the spirits of the people, although but few words were spoken, affecting them with great sorrow and weeping, which he believed to be the godly sorrow which produceth unfeigned repentance; and seeing a young maid go mourning out of the meeting, he felt an inclination to follow her; he saw her sitting on the ground, with her head bowed down, and apprehending herself alone, she gave vent to the fulness of her heart, in this short ejaculation, "Lord make me clean! " "O Lord, make me clean!" which he said, "did more deeply and reachingly affect my heart than what I had heard spoken in the meeting, and more than all the preaching that ever I heard from man to man."

He continued, being so persuaded in apprehension of duty, to frequent the assemblies of these people, who were as yet but few in number, in comparison of what he lived to see them, notwithstanding he met with much opposition and many hard speeches from some near relations and others, who were under the influence of the priests or preachers of the age, by whom this people was much misrepresented.

As his mind turned to the true light which C H A P.
enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world, II.
he was thereby illuminated to see his inward
and outward state to be in the degeneration, de-
praved, corrupted and alienated from the life of
Christ ; that he had a spiritual warfare to en-
gage in and accomplish, and a body of sin to
put off, though not grown to that maturity or
strength, as in many of those of riper years, who
by suffering their propensity to evil to grow ha-
bitual, are drawn into gross enormities, by which
he, being in the innocency of his youth, was as
yet untainted ; nevertheless he now saw a nece-
ssity of being cleansed from sin, and being born
again, to be redeemed not only from visible
evils, but from levity, vain thoughts and ima-
ginations, and wanderings of mind ; which were
so burdensome and uneasy to him, that he ear-
nestly prayed for power to suppress and get the
victory over them, and stay his mind that he
might obtain inward peace.

And as he was careful to wait for it in silence
and stillness, he was gradually favoured with the
power he desired ; the meetings he frequented,
he informs us, were much spent in silence, yet as
they came to experience victory over sin, and
the work of sanctification advancing, they were
sometimes filled with the word of life, and then
from the fulness of the heart his mouth (among
some others) was opened to utter a few words
for edification and comfort to each other.

It was out of these meetings, frequently held
in silence, he saith, the Lord was pleased to
raise up and send forth living witnesses of his
power and faithful ministers of the gospel in
those early days in Westmorland and other
northern

CHAP. northern counties ; and that he was not the least
II. in qualification and service is abundantly manifest
in several parts of this history.

1723.

He was one whom the Lord had fitted and prepared by his holy spirit for the work whereunto he was called, and whereby he was one of the most able ministers of the gospel in his day. As he was deep in the experience of the work of redemption and reconciliation to God, through Jesus Christ our Lord, he was frequently opened in his testimony, to unfold the mysteries of the heavenly kingdom, in the clear demonstration of the spirit and power, dividing the word aright, to the opening of the understandings of many unacquainted with the work of pure religion ; and to the comforting, confirming and establishing those, who were not unacquainted therewith, in their endeavours after a growth and advancement therein.

He was not only a zealous assertor of the true faith and doctrine of Christ in a sound and intelligible testimony ; but was frequently engaged to take up his pen in vindication thereof against adversaries and opposers, as well as on many other occasions, and was careful through a long course of life to adorn the doctrine of the gospel by a circumspect conduct and religious conversation, wherein the fruits of the spirit, love, joy, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness and temperance, did eminently shine forth, to the glory of God and reputation of his religious profession.

This christian deportment, and his affable disposition procured him respect and esteem amongst most people of all ranks, who were acquainted with his worth ; which was conducive to open his

his way to that part of his public service, where-
in he was eminently engaged, viz. in solicita-
tion to several kings, parliaments, bishops and
other persons in authority, for the relief and re-
lease of his friends suffering under severe per-
secution and grievous imprisonments ; in exert-
ing strenuous endeavours for liberty of con-
science, and for relief in the case of oaths, in which
benevolent interventions on behalf of his bre-
thren, the foregoing pages exhibit his diligence,
often through the divine blessing crowned with
success.

CHAP.
II.
1723.

He was a good example to the flock in all his
conduct, and particularly in his diligent attend-
ance of meetings for worship on first and week
days, and other meetings for the service of
truth, so long as he was favoured with ability of
body ; zealous to support good order and disci-
pline in the church ; as he was careful to lay
hands suddenly on no man, he was equally cau-
tious not to be hasty in casting any off, while
any hopes of their recovery remained ; condescend-
ing to the weak, and reproving transgressors
in the meekness of wisdom, for their preserva-
tion in an orderly conversation, and the unity
of the spirit in the bond of peace.

He was a tender father in the church, full of
compassion to the poor, and sympathy with
friends under affliction in body or mind ; a di-
lignant visitor of the sick, and a comforter of the
mourners ; active to prevent and industrious to
compose differences.

Sustained by the consciousness of a well-spent
life, he passed the last infirmities of age with chris-
tian patience and resignation to the divine will,
*desiring but in submission thereto, to be dissolved
and*

CHAP. II.
1723.

and be with Christ, saying, the sting of death was taken away; and a little before his departure, he expressed himself to this purport, “ that he had taken a review of his life, his labours and travels, that he had gone through since his first convincement, that he looked upon them with abundance of comfort and satisfaction, and admired how the presence of the Lord had carried him through all.”

By a gradual decay of the earthly tabernacle, full of years, and full of peace, he passed out of this life to a better, in the 87th year of his age, the 8th day of the 1st month, commonly called March, O. S. 172 $\frac{1}{2}$, and was buried in friends burying ground, Bunhill Fields, amongst many of his ancient brethren, the 13th of the same: his funeral was attended by a very large number of friends and others.

A friend in Chester, who had a right thereto, being refused his freedom of the city upon the solemn affirmation, and the case being laid before serjeant Cheshire, he gave the following opinion, viz. “ It was resolved in the case of the King against the Mayor of Lincoln, on a mandamus, to admit one Morris to his freedom; that a Quaker ought to be admitted to his freedom, on his making a solemn affirmation or declaration, and, if refused, may properly bring his mandamus on motion in the court of King’s Bench.” Since which, friends who have a right, have been admitted to their freedom of corporations, upon their solemn affirmation.

1723. This year Richard Claridge of London departed this life. He was a native of Warwickshire, the eldest son of William Claridge of

Friends to
be admitt-
ed to the
freedom of
corpora-
tions, upon
their solemn
affirmation

of Farmborough. His parents were sober religious persons of good reputation and good circumstance; and being members of the church of England, they brought up their son in that way, and gave him what is termed a learned education; he was continued at the grammar school till he attained a competent knowledge both of the Latin and Greek languages, and in the seventeenth year of his age was entered a student at Balliol college in Oxford. He took his degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1670, and was the same year ordained deacon; and in 1672 ordained priest in the king's chapel, Westminster, by Walter Blandford bishop of Worcester.

He was soon after advanced to the rectory of Peopleton in Worcestershire, where he taught a grammar school and kept boarders several years with considerable reputation and success. During his residence here, his own accounts inform us, he was at times actuated by a sense of duty, but not uniformly so. Sometimes he was very strict and severe in his conversation, and at other times too remiss and unguarded. Sometimes he seemed to have a zeal for God and a solicitude for the welfare of his own soul; but again this religious concern would wear away, and a state of luke-warmness to either succeeded. Yet, although he had not attained to a stability in righteousness, he was very industrious in performing the customary exercises of his office. He studied closely in composing his sermons, and delivered his compositions with an appearance of fervency and affection which were very taking

C H A P.
II.
1723.

CHAP. taking with his auditory, by whom he was generally well esteemed.

1723. In this unsettled state he continued many years; but the Lord did not suffer him to continue therein, without the reproofs of his holy spirit. He was often visited by the day-spring from on high, and his candle was often lighted, though for want of due watchfulness he suffered the light to be eclipsed through transgression.

About the year 1687, the 15th of his incumbency at Peopleton, through the operation of divine grace upon his spirit, he was brought to a serious consideration of his ways, and a clearer sight of the state of his soul, what it was, and what it ought to be; under which view sin was manifested to be exceeding sinful, and his soul was sorely afflicted under the sense and burden of it. Under the weight of that godly sorrow, which leads to repentance not to be repented of, seeking rest and finding none, he took a journey to London in the month called April 1689, hoping to receive consolation and instruction from the ministry of some preachers there of great account.

He spent some weeks in London,* during which time he went to hear sundry preachers of eminence, both episcopalians and dissenters; but although some of their remarks made an impression on his mind, yet upon the whole, being too much disappointed in his view of receiving some spiritual consolation, to relieve the anxiety of his mind, he returned home again to Peopleton, where he applied himself to the work of repentance; and through divine

fine assistance he was enabled to reform his ^{CHAP.} conversation, and to persevere in a sober and religious deportment with more stability than ^{II.} ^{1723.} heretofore.

And now being awakened to a feeling sense of his own state, and to a diligent enquiry after the safe and sure way to salvation, he was much exercised in reading the scriptures, in order to trace it out thereby; and his understanding being illuminated by that true light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world, was opened to discover that many things in the doctrine, practice, worship and ceremonies of the church of England, were not derived from this pure fountain, but were the appointments and contrivances of men, and therefore not lawful for him, not being of faith, to continue in the practice of.

The following texts often occurring to his remembrance, and being applicable to his present case, he esteemed them as spoken to himself, viz. Mat. xv. 8, 9, "This people draweth nigh me with the mouth, and honoureth me with their lips, but their hearts are far from me; but *in vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.*" And 2 Cor. vi. 17, "Come out from among them, and be ye separate, faith the Lord; touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive you."

Yet he found it no easy matter to yield full obedience to his convictions, so far as to leave the communion of the national church: both honour and interest lay at stake. It was a severe

CHAP. II.
1723. severe trial of his faith, and hard to flesh and blood, to relinquish a good living and a certain revenue, and to depend on Providence for a future support. He felt all the force of the natural reluctance in the prospect of the certain consequence of his change, that he who had been a minister of that church, well approved for wisdom and judgment near twenty years, should expose himself to contempt and reproach, and be counted as a fool by those who formerly held him in honour. These considerations retarded his resolution for some time; but his supplication to the Almighty for strength, to act faithfully to the convictions of his grace, was mercifully granted, so that in the 10^{mo} December 1691, he voluntarily resigned his parochial charge, and the income annexed thereto, into the hands of the bishop of Worcester, by a legal instrument, as he could now keep neither with a good conscience.

He had a considerable time before contracted an acquaintance with some leading men amongst the baptists in his neighbourhood, and by the conferences he had held with them, judging them to approach nearer the primitive pattern, he joined himself to their society. And, as he had foreseen, his change brought upon him many reproaches, slanders and false insinuations and accusations, so that he was even amazed at the sudden change in those men, with whom, whilst of their communion, he was in reputation for wisdom and integrity, who now represented him as scarcely entitled to the character of *common honesty*; but he was

was strengthened by divine grace to bear re- C H A P.
proach and calumny with patience, not to re- II.
turn reviling for reviling, but to pray for his
enemies, and to commit his cause to him who
judgeth righteously. 1723.

He had not been long a member before he became a preacher amongst the baptists, not as pastor of any particular congregation, but in sundry neighbouring meetings, as his freedom or inclination drew him ; sometimes at Bredon, the place of his present residence, at other times at Tewksbury, Broomsgrove, Pershore, and other places adjacent.

After he had continued in this itinerant line of preaching several months, in the 5^{mo.} 1692, he received an invitation from the baptist meeting at the Bagnio in Newgate street, London, to come and settle among them as their minister, to which he consented, and removed to London the latter end of that year, and was a very constant and diligent preacher amongst them for upwards of two years ; whether he received any salary I know not, but find that at this time he took a house in George's-court, Clerkenwell, and kept a grammar school there for several years.

In the year 1695 he resigned his pastoral charge, yet still preached frequently in one or other of the baptist meetings in or about the city, refusing to be any more limited to a particular assembly, though requested thereunto by the call or invitation of the baptist church meeting in Virginia-street ; but he could not comply therewith, being now convinced that a church's call was not a sufficient authority for

CHAP. preaching the gospel ; that bargain and contract, and preaching by notes, are not authorized by the holy scriptures. He continued, notwithstanding, to preach at times in their meetings some months longer, and then from an apprehension of the weighty nature of the work and his own unfitness for it, he entirely declined the function of preaching amongst them, and soon after began by degrees to withdraw from their communion. For although he found among them a serious remnant, founder in doctrine, holier in life, and to have less of human invention in their worship than those of the national way ; yet they appeared far short of that purity in faith, worship and discipline, by which the primitive christians of the apostolic age were distinguished. Their dispensation, he perceived, was that of John, a lower dispensation, which was to vanish, and to give way to a higher, the dispensation of the spirit, which was to abide for ever. Here God teaches his people himself.

Being thus far illuminated into the nature of pure and spiritual religion, he felt his mind affected with anxious solicitude to become more nearly acquainted with this higher dispensation ; which induced him frequently in solitude and silence to pour out secret and sincere supplications to the Almighty, for greater degrees of the illumination of his spirit, to direct him aright in his search after this desirable attainment, who was pleased by the gradual manifestations and discoveries of his divine light to make him acquainted with Christ Jesus in his inward

ward and spiritual appearance in his heart. And now upon a serious enquiry into the principles and practices of the people called Quakers, and comparing them with the scriptures of truth, and the impressions upon his own mind, he found that agreement therewith, which induced him to attend some of their meetings.

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1723.

Here meeting with the satisfaction which his soul had long been in search of, finding their ministry affecting and edifying, and their meetings frequently attended with the divine presence, ministering consolation and refreshment to weary and waiting souls; as he was favoured amongst them to taste of the good word of life, and a participation of the powers of the world to come, those meetings became more and more desirable, and he quickly became a constant attender of them.

He did not upon his entering into this society appear as a minister amongst them; but being illuminated with a clear discerning of the insufficiency of external forms and shadowy administrations, he applied himself to seek after the attainment of the real substance of pure religion, waiting in humility and silence to hear the voice of Christ internally revealed.

In this state of humble silence and patient waiting upon God, he remained a considerable time, passing through the dispensation of condemnation, under which he was humbled and judged, not only in the view of past deficiencies and present shortness of purity as in the sight of God, but even for his former preaching in his own will, wisdom and time; so that he

CHAP. dared not again to open his mouth in a public assembly, until he felt himself relieved from this proving and humbling dispensation, and so far refined thereby as to witness the ministration of life and peace, and the immediate operation of the holy spirit moving him to pray or preach as he might be pleased to afford both matter and utterance. His first appearance as a minister amongst this people was in a meeting at Sarah Sawyer's in Aldersgate-street, London, the 24th of the 8th month, 1697, and above nineteen months after he had desisted from preaching among the baptists. His testimony tended to recommend a broken and contrite spirit to the debasing of self, and magnifying the grace of God, by which he had been turned from darkness to light, and enabled by living experience to testify of his goodness.

From this time to the day of his death he stedfastly continued in christian fellowship with this society as an approved minister, and an honourable and useful member, not only in his ministerial labours, but in his writings of various kinds for their edification and in vindication of their doctrines and principles.

And as he had now conscientiously declined making a gain of the gospel, or preaching for lucre's sake, he followed his occupation of instructing youth for a livelihood. In the summer of the year 1700 he removed from London to Barking in Essex, where he fixed his residence, and kept a boarding-school for some years. He removed to Edmonton in 1706, and lastly to Tottenham in 1707, where he had a considerable number of boarders, and of the children of the inhabitants

inhabitants attending his school. In the latter end of the year 1713, being the 64th of his age, CHAP.
II. feeling his natural strength and activity begin to decline, and the fatigue of his employment inconvenient to the infirmities of advancing years ; and having attained, through the divine blessing, a competency for his subsistence, he left off keeping school, and removed from Tottenham to George's-court near Hicks's-hall, London, where he dwelt the remainder of his days.

1723.

The act of Toleration for Protestant Dissenters having been passed some years before he joined the society of the Quakers, and the Schism Act not yet in being, it might be expected that no occasion at this time existed for bringing the members of this society under suffering, except for ecclesiastical demands ; but we have ground for remark in his case, as well as many others, that the spirit of intolerance did not terminate with the power of exercising it to the full. R. Claridge, besides repeated distraints for the demands of the Vicar and Wardens, in common with others, was subjected to much obloquy and a severe prosecution, only for endeavouring to procure an honest and reputable livelihood in that line of life for which his education had qualified him.

He had not resided long at Tottenham before he was threatened with a prosecution for keeping a school there ; that lord Coleraine, and Hugh Smithson, Esq. men of great power in that place, were offended that a Quaker should keep a school in that parish, and that if he did not relinquish it, or confine himself to the reception of Quakers children only for tuition, they would give him trouble.

This

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This unreasonable requisition (which would not only deprive R. C. of the equal right of profiting by his industry in a lawful and useful calling, but the inhabitants of the advantage and natural right of procuring their children an education, wherever they might expect it would be most conducive to the children's benefit and their own satisfaction) was made, as it appeared, at the instigation of the Vicar and Curate of the parish, and the master of the free-school there, the former from bigotry, and the latter from self-interest, being sanguine for the suppression of this new seminary, by their importunities and representations to these men in power, of the dangerous consequences of a Quakers school in Tottenham, to the interests of the church and of the free-school, they excited them to second their endeavours for the suppression thereof.

First of all, the Vicar and his Curate went about from house to house, to dissuade people from sending their children to him, giving an illiberal licence to their tongues in abuse of R. C. with indecent language and opprobrious nicknames, such as the bitterness of their spirits suggested, impostor, heretic, jesuit, apostate, and such like were the terms whereby they characterised him. The Vicar further indulged his passion so far as to make him the subject of his public discourse, and railed at and reviled him in the pulpit, to the great offence of several of his hearers, who held his uncharitable proceedings in abhorrence.

Next justice Smithson sent him a summons to appear before the justices at Edmonton to take the oaths prescribed by act of parliament: He
appeared

appeared accordingly, and subscribed the declaration and profession of faith in the act of indulgence, which prevented their exertion of power to imprison as formerly, and which they wanted to do still. C H A P. II. 1723.

In order whereto they began to catechise him about his keeping school, and whether he had a licence from the bishop of London? to which replying, that he was informed he had a right so to do; lord Coleraine said that should be tried, and he and justice Smithson agreed in a prosecution, and threatened they would suppress his school or expend five hundred pounds. Through the whole, they discovered in their countenances, words and actions, great enmity, passion and impatience, treating him in a manner unworthy of their station or his character, below the rules of decency and common civility; and it was thought that his leaving the church, and writing in defence of the Quakers had given umbrage to some of the clergy, and that they had incited these great men to raise this storm against him.

He had been before cited to the ecclesiastical court, but the prosecution was dropped for want of a promoter: and soon after this he was served with a second citation to appear at Doctor's Commons, *to answer to certain interrogatories concerning his soul's health, and the reformation of his manners, and especially for teaching and instructing boys, &c.* where although the evidence against him amounted to no positive proof, yet it being apprehended that the court would proceed to an admonition, and in case of his persisting to an excommunication and consequent

CHAP. consequent imprisonment, it was thought expedient to remove the cause into the temporal court (so termed). A prohibition was accordingly applied for to stop proceedings in the bishop's court and obtained, whereby the cause was removed to the queen's bench, and tried before the chief justice Holt. The trial was pretty long, and the chief justice declared his opinion, that if a school master qualified himself according to the act of Toleration he should be exempted from all the pains and penalties of all the statutes made against popish recusants and protestant nonconformists; took notice of the violence of the prosecution against the defendant; was of opinion the statutes of king James I. upon which he was prosecuted did not reach the defendant, but would not then determine, and therefore directed the jury to bring in a special verdict, which they did, finding the defendant to have taught school during two days in his house at Tottenham, High-cross, not being licensed by any archbishop or bishop, &c. and that the defendant is a Quaker, and no Popish Recusant. This verdict, and the complexion of the chief justice's opinion upon the cause and the prosecution, discouraged his antagonists from further procedure, to avoid paying costs, which would have been the case if final judgment were given against them. The issue of this cause procured R. C. exemption from any further molestation in following his honest and useful employment.

In the year 1720, when the nation was overrun with a spirit of avaricious adventure, whereby

whereby numbers became a prey to the visionary CH A P. schemes and fraudulent designs of ill-designing II. men, this friend was zealously concerned to caution his friends against being carried away 1723. with the stream. In his public testimonies, in private admonitions, exerting his endeavours to guard them against the snare, by manifesting the sin of covetousness, and the inconsistency of such an extravagant pursuit of precarious gain as then prevailed, with that state of self-denial, contentment and honest simplicity of manners, which the christian religion prescribes and establishes. And had his faithful exhortations, and those of other truly religious and judicious friends been duly regarded, the members of this society had been rescued from sharing in the deception, dishonour and disappointment which ensued.

He travelled several journeys in the work of the ministry into the neighbouring counties; but from this time the infirmities of age increasing, he was prevented from getting far abroad (but diligently attended meetings at home while of ability) and at last was affected with a shortness of breath, attended with an inward fever, which increased upon him to his end. During the time of his sickness he expressed to several friends that visited him, his peace and satisfaction of soul, and an humble resignation to the will of God. He departed this life on the 28th day of 2^{mo}, 1723, in the 74th year of his age, and was buried on the 3d day of 3^{mo} following, in the burying ground near Bunhill-fields, his corpse was attended from the Peel meeting-house by a numerous company of his friends and acquaintance.

The

C H A P. The friends of said meeting, amongst whom

11. he spent the last years of his life, have given
1723. testimony concerning him, that "His ministry
 was found and edifying, pressing all to purity
 and holiness of life. His care and concern for
 the church was great, that it might be kept
 clean from the spots of the world. Vice and
 immorality met with a reprobate in him, and
 that without respect of persons. His christian
 gravity and judicious solidity, tempered with a
 natural affability and sweetness of disposition,
 rendered his conversation among his intimate
 friends and acquaintance very profitable and
 delightful.

" His piety towards God, his love to his neighbour, the truth and justice of his words and actions, made him as a light in the world, and gave forth a testimony to the truth, in the hearts of those who came not to hear his preaching.

" In his own private family he was a living example of virtue; an affectionate husband, a loving father, a kind and gentle master, and frequent and fervent in supplication to the Lord for the preservation of himself and his household, in the way of truth and righteousness.

" His charity to the poor was very extensive, not only to friends, but others, being a practical observer of the pure and undefiled religion, recommended by the apostle James, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world."

1724.
~~Case of some
 friends in
 New-Eng-
 land ap-
 pointed to
 affect taxes.~~

Some friends of New England having been appointed to affect the taxes on their respective townships, and being conscientiously scrupulous of

of assessing those laid on for the support of C H A P. the presbyterian ministry, and applications for II. their relief having been ineffectually made to the government of that province, gave occasion to 1724. the following petition to the government at home.

“ A petition to the King in the cause of some
“ friends under sufferings in New England.

“ To GEORGE, king of Great Britain, &c.

“ The humble petition of Thomas Richard-
“ son and Richard Partridge, on behalf of
“ Joseph Anthony, John Sisson, John Akin
“ and Philip Tabor, prisoners in the com-
“ mon jail at New Bristol in the King’s
“ Province of Massachusets Bay in New
“ England, as also of their friends (called
“ Quakers) in general, who are frequently
“ under great sufferings for conscience-sake
“ in that government.

“ Sheweth,

“ That William and Mary, late king and
“ queen of England, by their royal charter
“ bearing date the 7th day of October in the
“ third year of their reign, did for the greater
“ ease and encouragement of their loving sub-
“ jects inhabiting said province, and of such
“ as should come to inhabit there, grant, esta-
“ blish and ordain that for ever thereafter there
“ should be a liberty of conscience allowed in
“ the worship of God to all christians (except
“ papists) inhabiting, or which should inhabit
or

C H A P. " or be resident within the said province, with

11. " power also to make laws for the government
1724. " of the said province, and support of the
 " same, and to impose taxes for the king's ser-
 " vice in the defence and support of the said
 " government, and protection and preservation
 " of the inhabitants, and to dispose of matters
 " and things, whereby the king's subjects there
 " might be religiously, peaceably and civilly
 " governed, protected and defended.

" And for the better securing and maintaining
 " the liberty of conscience thereby granted,
 " commanded that all such laws made and pub-
 " lished by virtue of said charter, should be
 " made and published under the seal of said
 " province, and should be carefully and duly
 " observed, kept, performed and put in ex-
 " ecution, according to the true intent and
 " meaning of the said charter.

" That those sects of protestants called pres-
 " byterians and independents being more nu-
 " merous in the said country than others (to
 " whom the said charter gives equal rights) they
 " became makers of the laws by their superior
 " numbers and votes, and ministers of the
 " privileges of the said charter, so as in great
 " measure to elude the same, and disappoint all
 " others of the king's protestant subjects of the
 " good and just ends of their transporting them-
 " selves and families at so great hazard and
 " charge; one great encouragement and in-
 " duement thereto being liberty of conscience,
 " and ease from priestly impositions and bur-
 " dens.

" That in the year 1692 they made a law in
 " the said province, intituled an a&t for the set-
 " tlement

“ tlement and support of ministers and school- C H A P.
“ masters, wherein it is ordained, that the inha- II.
“ bitants of each town within the said province
“ shall take due care from time to time to be
“ constantly provided of an able, learned and
“ orthodox minister or ministers of good con-
“ versation, to dispense the word of God to
“ them, which minister or ministers shall be
“ suitably encouraged and sufficiently supported
“ and maintained by the inhabitants of such
“ towns.

1724.

“ That the said law was farther enforced by
“ another made in the year 1695, reciting the
“ like aforesaid, as also by another made in the
“ year 1715, intitled an act for maintaining and
“ propagating religion, in which said last act
“ the prevention of the growth of atheism, ir-
“ religion and profaneness is suggested as one
“ great reason of its being enacted, and the power
“ of determining who shall be ministers under the
“ aforesaid, qualifications is by the said law as-
“ sumed by the general court or assembly, with
“ the recommendation of any three of the mi-
“ nisters of the same sect, already in orders,
“ and settled and supported by virtue of the said
“ laws, though it was not determined (as the said
“ petitioners humbly presume) either by the said
“ charter, or by any act of parliament in Great
“ Britain, or by any express law of the said
“ province, who are orthodox or who are not,
“ or who shall judge of such qualifications in
“ such ministers.

“ And in all which said several laws no care
“ is had or taken of religion (even in their own
“ sense) than only to appoint ministers of their
“ own way, and impose their maintenance upon
“ the

CHA P. " the king's subjects, conscientiously dissenting
 II. " from them, by force of which said laws, or
 ~~~~~ " some of them, several of the townships within  
 1724. " the said province have had presbyterian and  
 " independent preachers obtruded and imposed  
 " upon them for maintenance without their  
 " consent, and which they have not deemed  
 " able, learned and orthodox, and which as  
 " such they could not hear or receive.

" That by other laws made in the year 1722  
 " and 1723, it is ordained that the town of  
 " Dartmouth and the town of Tiverton in the  
 " said province shall be assed for the said years  
 " the respective sums of 100l. and 72l. 11s.  
 " over and besides the common taxes for sup-  
 " port of the government, which sums are for  
 " maintenance of such ministers.

" That the said Joseph Anthony and John  
 " Sisson were appointed assessors of the taxes for  
 " the said town of Tiverton, and the said John  
 " Akin and said Philip Tabor for the town of  
 " Dartmouth, but some of the said assessors be-  
 " ing of the people called Quakers, and others  
 " of them also dissenting from the presbyterians  
 " and independents, and greatest part of the  
 " inhabitants of the said towns being also Qua-  
 " kers or anabaptists, or of different sentiment  
 " in religion from independents and presbyte-  
 " rians, the said assessors duly assed the other  
 " taxes upon the people there, relating to the  
 " support of government, to the best of their  
 " knowledge, yet they could not in conscience  
 " assed any of the inhabitants of the said towns  
 " any thing for or towards the maintenance of  
 " any ministers.

" That

" That the said Joseph Anthony, John Sisson, C H A P.  
" John Akin and Philip Tabor, (on pretence of II.  
" their non-compliance with the said law) were         
" on the 25th of the month called May, 1723, 1724.  
" committed to the jail aforesaid, where they  
" still continue prisoners under great sufferings  
" and hardships both to themselves and families,  
" and where they must remain and die, if not  
" relieved by the king's royal clemency and  
" favour.

" That the said people called Quakers in the  
" said province are, and generally have been,  
" great sufferers by the said laws, in their cattle,  
" horses, sheep, corn and household goods,  
" which from time to time have been taken  
" from them by violence of the said laws for  
" maintenance of the said ministers, who call  
" themselves able, learned and orthodox ; which  
" said laws, and the execution and consequen-  
" ces thereof, are not only (as the petitioners  
" humbly conceive) contrary to the liberty of  
" conscience and security of religion, civil li-  
" berty, property ; and the rights and privileges  
" granted in the said charter to all the king's  
" protestant subjects there, eluded and made  
" null and precarious ; but opposite to the king's  
" royal and gracious declaration, at thy happy  
" accession to the throne, promising protection  
" and liberty of conscience to all thy dissenting  
" subjects, without exception to those of the  
" said plantations.

" That after repeated applications made to  
" the government there, for redress in the pre-  
" mises, and no relief hitherto obtained (the as-  
" sembly always opposing whatever the gover-  
" " nor

CHAP. II. " nor and council were at any time disposed  
 1724. " to do on that behalf) the king's loyal suffer-  
 ing and distressed subjects do now throw  
 themselves prostrate at the steps of the throne,  
 humbly imploring thy royal commiseration,  
 that it may please the king to denounce his  
 negative upon the said laws, or such part or  
 parts of them, or any of them, as directly or  
 consequentially affect the lives, liberties, prop-  
 ertyes, religion or consciences of the protest-  
 tant subjects in the said province, and their  
 families, and the privileges granted and in-  
 tended in the said charter, or such other re-  
 lief as thy royal wisdom and goodness may  
 please to provide; and in the mean time that  
 directions may be given that the said Joseph  
 Anthony, John Sisson, John Akin and Philip  
 Tabor be immediately released from their im-  
 prisonment, on their giving such security in  
 such sums as shall be thought proper, for  
 their being at any time or times hereafter  
 forthcoming when required, until their case  
 be brought to an issue.

" And the petitioners shall pray."

" At a Court at St. James's, the 2d day of  
 June 1724,

" P R E S E N T,  
 " The King's Most Excellent Majesty.  
 " His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.  
 " Archbishop of Canterbury.  
 " Lord Chancellor.  
 " Lord

- “ Lord President.
- “ Lord Privy Seal.
- “ Lord Carteret.
- “ Mr. Vice Chamberlain.
- “ William Pultney, Esq.
- “ Lord Chamberlain.
- “ Duke of Roxburgh.
- “ Duke of Newcastle.
- “ Earl of Westmoreland.
- “ Lord Viscount Townfend.
- “ Lord Viscount Torrington.
- “ Mr. Speaker of the House of Commons.

C H A P.  
II.  
1724.

“ Upon reading this day at the board, a report from the Right Honorable the Lords of the committee of council, upon the petition of Thomas Richardson and Richard Partridge, on behalf of Joseph Anthony, John Sisson, John Akin and Philip Tabor, prisoners in the common jail at New Bristol, in his majesty's province of Massachusets Bay in New England, for not assessing the inhabitants of the towns of Dartmouth and Tiverton the additional taxes of 100l. and 72l. 11s. imposed upon them by an act passed there in the year 1722, by which they appear to be for the maintenance of Presbyterian ministers, who are not of their persuasion, and also in behalf of their friends called Quakers in general, who are frequently under sufferings for conscience sake in that government. By which report it appears, their Lordships are of opinion, that it may be adviseable for his majesty to remit the said additional taxes, so imposed on the said two towns, and to discharge the said persons from jail.

CHAP. " nor and council were at any time disposed  
 ~~~~~ II. " to do on that behalf) the king's loyal suffer-  
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 " themselves prostrate at the steps of the throne,
 " humbly imploring thy royal commiseration,
 " that it may please the king to denounce his
 " negative upon the said laws, or such part or
 " parts of them, or any of them, as directly or
 " consequentially affect the lives, liberties, prop-
 " erties, religion or consciences of the protest-
 " ant subjects in the said province, and their
 " families, and the privileges granted and in-
 " tended in the said charter, or such other re-
 " lief as thy royal wisdom and goodness may
 " please to provide; and in the mean time that
 " directions may be given that the said Joseph
 " Anthony, John Sisson, John Akin and Philip
 " Tabor be immediately released from their im-
 " prisonment, on their giving such security in
 " such sums as shall be thought proper, for
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C H A P. " His majesty in council taking the said re-
 11. " port into consideration, is graciously pleased
 ~~~ " to approve thereof, and hereby to remit the  
 1724. " said additional taxes of 100l. and 72l. 11s.  
 " which were by the said act to have been af-  
 " fessed on the said towns of Dartmouth and  
 " Tiverton. And his majesty is hereby further  
 " pleased to order, that the said Joseph Anthony,  
 " John Sisson, John Akin and Philip Tabor be  
 " immediately released from their imprisonment,  
 " on account thereof, which the governor, lieu-  
 " tenant governor, or commander in chief for  
 " the time being of his majesty's said province  
 " of Massachusetts Bay, and all others whom it  
 " may concern, are to take notice of, and yield  
 " obedience thereunto.

" TEMPLE STANYAN."

" Vera Copia."

**1720.** In the year 1720 Christopher Story departed  
 Life of Christopher Story. this life. He was a native of Cumberland,  
 being born at Righead, in the parish of Kirk-  
 lington in that county. His father, Thomas Story,  
 having been in the service of Sir Philip Musgrave,  
 gave this son an education to fit him for the uni-  
 versity, the said Sir Philip proposing to send  
 him thither at his expense as a companion to  
 his own son: But when the time arrived for  
 their removal from school, Christopher's mo-  
 ther was unwilling to consent to his going thi-  
 ther, in consideration that an education there  
 might be the means of alienating him from the  
 love of a country life, and make him disregard  
 his paternal inheritance, being like to possess an  
 estate

estate sufficient to afford him a competency; C H A P. on these and other considerations she preferred his staying in the country, and following the safe and useful employment of a husbandman.

II.

1720.

Through divine mercy and preservation he appears from his early years to have been favoured with a religious disposition, being of a careful and sober demeanor amongst men, and frequent in reading the scriptures: To gross evils and open profanity he had a fixed aversion; but in vain amusements and pastimes, by the world termed innocent, he took a delight, especially in playing at cards, wherein being generally successful, his delight therein increased, and his thoughts were much taken up therewith; but he found his pleasure often succeeded by painful remorse, the convictions of the light in his own conscience frequently gave him much trouble and uneasiness for many days together, which brought him to some close considerations concerning the lawfulness of the practice; and not knowing then of any man that judged it in general unlawful, he was tempted to conclude, he might safely play at any time except on first days at night, which he, with others, had been in the practice of. Under this persuasion, he set himself at ease for a time; but as he became further illuminated, he saw clearly that he must lead a more circumspect and religious life than he had done, and not join with young people in their pastimes; yet under this impression he felt a reasoner within himself, persuading him, that as he was young, such amusements and such company

CHAP. suited his age and time of life, that he yet  
II. might live long, and that it would be time  
enough for him to grow religious when he  
was married. To this flesh-pleasing doctrine  
he lent a willing ear for some time longer ;  
but in the cool hour of consideration his trouble  
of mind returned upon him with additional  
weight, as he was now sinning against con-  
viction.

Being the only child of his parents, they  
were very desirous he should marry when young,  
and for that purpose proposed a young woman  
of a reputable family in the country for his  
choice. This proposal appearing to him a mat-  
ter of great consequence to his future peace  
and welfare, filled him with an anxious thought-  
fulness, and prayer to the Almighty, to prosper  
the design, so far only, as it might be for their  
good. About the same time his religious  
thoughtfulness encreased, so that if at any time  
he joined with profane airy company, and par-  
took in their mirth, it would be succeeded by  
an additional weight of sorrow. In this state,  
an epidemical fever raging in the country, he  
was visited therewith : The prospect of proba-  
ble death filled him with horror and great trou-  
ble of mind, fearing, as he had sinned against  
conviction, he had no just ground to hope for  
mercy, if he should be taken off by this distem-  
per in the state of disobedience, he apprehend-  
ed himself to be in, his only ray of hope was  
in the probability of divine mercy being so far  
extended as to restore him to health, and to  
grant him space to repent, which favour in both  
respects was mercifully granted to his earnest  
prayers

prayers in this time of accumulated distress ; C H A P. and a portion of divine grace enabled him to II. keep his resolution, to order his conversation still more religiously and circumspectly, than he had hitherto done : seeking retirement for mental prayer to the Lord in secret places, to shew him the sure way to salvation, being sensible he had not yet discovered it. He applied himself much to reading the scriptures, and became a very exemplary and devout attender of the public worship, and diligently attentive to the doctrine he heard preached there ; but durst not join in the singing as unsuitable to the state of his soul, under sorrow for his past defects, and want of strength and understanding by what means effectually to remedy them in future ; for he observed the priests would describe the reward of the righteous, and the punishment of the wicked ; but how to overcome sin and learn righteousness, he found himself left by them at a loss, which lessened the esteem of those teachers in his eye.

In this time of his uncertainty and agitation of mind, some of the ministers of the people called Quakers came into the neighbourhood of his residence, a desire of information, which naturally drew him to turn his enquiry on every side, led him to hear what their doctrine was on this and other religious subjects. The first of them whom he heard was John Wilkinson, (formerly an independent preacher) but coming late, and being discomposed through hurry in getting thither, being stinted in time, and his observation more outward to others than himself,

CHAP. self, he writes, he was little reached. The next  
11. opportunity he had was at a meeting appointed  
~~~~~ about a mile from his habitation, to which  
1720. Robert Barclay, being on his way home, and
hearing of the meeting, came, and appearing
there in a clear and convincing testimony, his
understanding was much opened into the na-
ture of that spiritual religion he wanted to be
acquainted with, and his convincement of the
truth of his doctrine in a great measure effect-
ed. Soon after Thomas Carleton and Thomas
Langhorn were at a meeting appointed near
his house, to which he went. These men, by
their ministry and conversation, were instru-
mental to his more clear and effectual con-
vincement, as well as that of sundry others.
And the report of this convincement on the
borders of Scotland reaching the ears of friends,
John Wilkinſen aforesaid paid them another vi-
ſit, and appointed another meeting amongst them;
in which, through a divine power attending his
ministry and overshadowing the meeting, many
more were convinced.

After ſome more meetings amongst them, they were encouraged to keep up a meeting
among themſelves for ſolemn worship, though
in silence, which they did; and their number
increased, notwithstanding they had no outward
miniftry: many also were convinced in judg-
ment, who had not fortitude to join the ſocie-
ty, it being a time of hot perſecution under
the laſt act againſt conventicles, but for a while
waited to ſee how it would fare with thoſe,
who had openly proclimed themſelves Quakers.
These newly convinced friends were ſoon made
partakers

partakers with their elder brethren in the C H A P. sufferings of this season, through the rapacity II. of informers. One Gilbert Atkinson, who had formerly been a man of repute, falling into frequent intoxication and other vicious courses, lost his reputation and his property, and in order to repair the latter turned informer; made great spoil of friends goods, and was instrumental to the imprisonment of many of them. But, like many others of this infamous class, his ill-gotten gains did him little good. Attending the sessions at Carlisle, in order to appear against friends in prison there, and prevent them from getting their liberty, he was arrested for debt, and cast into prison, where he fell into great poverty and want, in which state he was often relieved by some of this people, whom he had grievously persecuted, and at last finished his days in prison.

It was now that king Charles's declaration for liberty of conscience was published, whereby this people enjoyed a respite from suffering, and their number in this corner of the nation was considerably encreased, many of those who had stood off, seeing the divine preservation attending their innocence and stedfastnes, joined them in society, and diligently attended their meetings, which were still held in silence, except when friends in the ministry from abroad came to visit them. Yet in those silent meetings they were often favoured with divine consolation, and grew in grace and the inward experience of the work of sanctification, whereby they were fitted for the reception of spiritual gifts. Among these Christopher Story was one

CHAP. one who received a share in the ministry, to
II. which he was very backward to give up, though
~~ often exercised under the burden of the word,
1720. for fear of missing his way, or bringing forth
unripe fruit, but at last gave up to the divine
requirings, in uttering a few words to his
great peace and rejoicing in spirit ; and through
diligent attention to the opening of counsel,
and instruction of the spirit of truth, he grew
in his gift, and became an eminent minister
of the word of reconciliation and salvation.
This was several years after his convincement ;
but it was not long after his appearance in the
ministry, till he thought it his duty to travel
in the work thereof to Scotland. His succeed-
ing journey to the yearly meeting of London,
and thence westward in company with John
Banks, hath been before noticed.* He con-
tinued in frequent journeys to exercise his mi-
nisterial labours, for the edification of his bre-
thren, and the convincement of many others,
through most parts of England, Scotland and
Ireland, oftner than once. He was also con-
cerned, particularly in his native county, to
appoint meetings amongst those of other soci-
eties. His service was great, and his ministry
well approved, at home and abroad ; being
plain, powerful and affecting in his testimony,
reaching the hearts and consciences of his
hearers.

In conducting the affairs of discipline in the
church, his abilities were equally conspicuous.
In much wisdom and prudence he exerted his
endeavours

* See page 73.

endeavours to preserve his friends in a blameless conversation, and in faithfulness in every branch of their christian testimony. Against undue liberty, excess and superfluity of every kind, he was remarkably zealous ; yet his zeal being tempered with meekness, and his own example marked with circumspection, abstinence, simplicity and gravity, they produced an awful respect, and frequently gave efficacy to his zealous labours.

He was diligent also in his endeavours to preserve the peace of the church uninterrupted, and to keep out every incentive to strife and debate ; he had also an excellent talent for accommodating differences or misunderstandings, when any thing of that kind happened.

Although this friend was not convinced till the season of persecution was pretty far advanced towards its period, yet he had a share of the sufferings to which this society was still exposed. From the time Atkinson the informer had been cast into prison, the friends in these parts had been pretty much unmolested, except some distresses taken for Sunday shillings (as they termed them) and an attempt to prosecute them as popish recusants for 20l. a month ; but for want of an informer these prosecutions do not appear to have been carried through. At last, in 1682, one James Appleby from Yorkshire undertook the office, and procuring one Story to join him, they came to Christopher Story's, the meeting being there, and made information before Henry Forster, a justice, against several being met together,

CHAP. ^{U.} ~~1720.~~ gether, and among others, that Christopher Story was there, although at that time he was in Lancashire, above forty miles off. A warrant was issued for making distress, but the officers were backward to execute the warrant in his absence; and the informer, sensible that his perjury was generally known, thought it safest to abscond for the present, whereby, for this time, he was disappointed of his prey.

But as soon as he thought the danger over, this informer returned to his infamous occupation, made information of another meeting at Christopher Story's, procured a warrant from justice Aglionby to distrain for the fines; but the constables being still backward to distress their neighbours, were very moderate in their constraints, which not suiting the views of the insolent informer, he brought one of them before the justice, and had him bound to his good behaviour; and had afterwards a general seizure made of Christopher Story's goods, of which they proclaimed a public sale; but such was the detestation, the plunder of informers was now held in, that nobody would come to buy. He took the horses and sheep to distant fairs; sold the horses at half price, and the sheep were scattered and dispersed about the country by the people and their dogs, when they knew who the man was, and how he came by them; he also had Christopher's corn seized, but could get nobody to thresh it. He again informed of another meeting to Henry Dacres, justice, against Christopher Story for preaching there, who was accordingly

cordingly fined 20l. for which the officers took several cows and young cattle; but these officers acting against their will, when they took them to market to sell, took care to have the people informed, what kind of goods they were. The informer upon this complained to the justice, who accordingly bound one of these officers also to his good behaviour. While the distresses remained undisposed of, king Charles died, which much weakened the informer's power; for then the justices would listen to none of his complaints, so the goods seized were not sold. Yet Christopher, with others of his friends, were bound to appear at the assizes, and for refusing to give bond to traverse the indictment were committed to prison, where they continued until king James granted them a general release, and then the persecution generally ceased.

For his eminent qualifications for service in the church; for his diligent discharge of duty in a long and constant course of ministerial labour at home and abroad, and for his faithfulness as a shining example of consistency in a circumspect and religious conversation, he was greatly beloved and respected amongst his brethren. And as he was also endowed with a good understanding and a sound judgment in temporal affairs, in moral and civil rights, and in great repute for integrity, he was often employed in the good work of ending differences, and composing litigations among his neighbours of other communities, and with remarkable success, with that equity, skill and address, as to give satisfaction to both parties, a point not generally attained.

As

C H A P. As old age overtook him, and his body declined in strength, his mental faculties discovered no symptom of decay ; his memory and understanding, his zeal and fervency continued unimpaired. He was seized with a consumptive distemper, which encreased upon him about the space of nine months, during which time he continued his attendance of religious meetings at home, wherein he was frequently favoured, so as to manifest that he retained his inward strength, by the lively and affecting testimonies he bore during his bodily weakness. And much excellent counsel, and edifying advice he imparted to his friends who came to visit him in his sickness, and also to his children he gave much tender and fatherly admonition.

And having lived a life of righteousness, devoted to the service of his maker and mankind, he had hope in his death, which happened at his own house at Righead the 6th of the 11th month 1720, and he was interred in friends burying ground at Hetherside ; his funeral was attended by a multitude of friends and others, remarkably numerous, evidencing the general estimation of his character amongst his neighbours.

1727.
Death of
George I.

The king this year, going to visit his electoral dominions, was suddenly seized with an indisposition on the road, which proved mortal ; he expired at Osnaburg the next day, being the 11th day of the month called June, in the 68th year of his age, having reigned near thirteen years with wisdom and moderation.

C H A P. III.

I R E L A N D.

Visit of Benjamin Holme and John Burton.—John Burton returns home.—Benjamin visits Londonderry and several other Places, where there are no Meetings of Friends,—Is imprisoned at Longford.—Address to Government on Occasion of the Rebellion.—Thomas Story visits Ireland.—At Kilkenny is persecuted by the Bishop of Ossory.

BENJAMIN HOLME, a friend of Yorkshire, C H A P. a man of ancient simplicity, who resigning all III. worldly concerns and cares, having an estate or ~~an~~ income sufficient for his few wants, gave up most or all his time to travel about for the edification of his friends, generally visiting them in their families, as well as their meetings; came over to Ireland this year, accompanied by John Burton, from the northern part of the same county, for the spreading the true knowledge of the principles of this society amongst other people; he was an able and powerful minister of the gospel, a man of good sense and strong natural parts, refined by religion, more than by education, in whom a peculiar wisdom in conduct, in his ministry

1712.
Visit of B.
Holme and
John Bur-
ton.

CHAP. nistry and in his judgment was concealed under
III. the rustick appearance of the simple husband-
man.

1712.
J. Burton
returns.
Benjamin
in company
with P.
Hender-
son for
visit Lond-
onderry.

After visiting the meetings of his friends to their edification, John Burton returned home; but Benjamin having a further prospect in view, stayed longer, and then took his journey to Londonderry, accompanied by Patrick Henderson, with a view to get a meeting in that city; but the magistrates would not permit it, dispersing all the people who were assembled; whereupon Benjamin wrote to the mayor, shewing how disagreeable it was to christianity, thus to treat men, who under a religious concern came only to call the inhabitants to repentance. They also wrote to the inhabitants of the city, reminding them of the late calamities they had suffered, and the merciful deliverance they had providentially received, and their sudden forgetfulness of this great mercy, warning them of divine judgments for their ingratitude and provoking sins, if they did not timely repent.

His meet-
ings in tun-
dry places
amongst
strangers.

After this the said friends had several meetings in the said county, and in the county of Donegall, amongst a people to whom the Quakers, so called, and their principles, were little known. Benjamin had several meetings of the same kind in the provinces of Munster and Connaught; at Sligo, a few had lately been convinced, whom he felt a particular concern to visit, in order to strengthen and encourage them in the way to peace.

1713.
Imp. 1713.
Longford
Co. L.

In the second month, 1713, Benjamin and three friends came to Longford with the like purpose, and having obtained a room at their inn

inn for a meeting, they went to invite the people and acquaint the sovereign of the town, who told them he had no objection against their holding a meeting, but desired them to acquaint Benjamin Spann of it, who was both a justice of the peace and priest of the parish. In consideration of his office as a civil magistrate they thought it proper to wait upon him also, to apprise him of their purpose; but he quickly discovered in what light he held the toleration, abruptly telling them with great indignation *they should have no meeting in that town.* Benjamin Holme replied, *they did not come to ask his leave, but as a magistrate to inform him thereof,* and pleaded the Queen's toleration for liberty of conscience, and so they parted. But the landlord hearing of Spann's prohibition, told them, that in this circumstance he durst not by any means suffer a meeting in his house, for that Mr. Spann would ruin him. Whereupon Benjamin Holme and Benjamin Parvin, going to seek another place, met the said priest in the street, who accosted them afresh upon the occasion. Benjamin Holme renewed his plea of the Queen's toleration. The priest in wrath denied, *that either man or woman in England or Ireland could grant a toleration.* Benjamin Holme desired him to do as he would be done by. The priest replied, "that is no rule to me." His passion being greatly raised, he called for a constable; but none appearing, he seized him himself, and seeing the jailer near, commanded him to take him into custody; and so leading him by one arm, and the jailer by the other, they put him into the dungeon, and after some abusive language, the

CHAP.
III.
1713.

CHAP. the priest laid hold of Benjamin Parvin, and de-
 III. livered him to the jailer, who by his orders con-
 1713. fined him in the same place, where they sat to-
 gether in great peace and contentment for about
 six hours, and then the jailer removed them to
 an upper room, where several friendly persons
 came to see them, and among them one who
 brought them a discharge from the priest, upon
 condition they should promise not to come again,
 nor hold any meeting in or near Longford:
 They told him they could make no such pro-
 mife, for that no true minister of Christ was his
 own master, but must anfwer the requirings of
 him, who called them into his work and service.
 They were locked up that night in the room,
 where they lay on the boards in their great coats
 and boots. The jailer understanding they would
 demand their liberty at the expiration of twenty-
 four hours, as they were arbitrarily committed
 without a mittimus shewing any cause, waited
 upon Spann, who then granted a mittimus,
 charging them with coming in contempt of the
 Queen's authority, by force and arms in a hos-
 tile manner, to hold a Quaker's meeting in the
 borough of Longford.

This charge they denied as false in every part
 of it, and particularly that it was not they who
 contemned the Queen's authority, but the priest,
 who had publicly declared, " that neither man
 " or woman in England or Ireland could grant
 " a toleration for liberty of conscience," and
 who had violated the toleration granted by the
 legislature, in imprisoning them; which being re-
 ported to the priest, he said, he wished he had
 never seen them, and in the evening sent an
 order

order under his hand to the jailer to set them at c H A P. liberty.. III.

By reason of the rebellion which broke out in Scotland, the friends in Ireland thought it requisite at this time to testify their affection to the government, which was done by the following address to the Lords justices.

“ To Charles Duke of Grafton, and Henry 1715.
“ Earl of Galway, lords justices, and chief

“ governors of Ireland.

Address to
govern-
ment upon
occasion of
the rebel-
lion.

“ The humble address of the people called Quakers, from their national half-year's meeting held in Dublin the 10th of the ninth month, 1715.

“ May it please the Lords Justices,

“ The many and great privileges continued unto us under the king's mild and favourable government, and those in authority under him, more especially that we have liberty peaceably to worship Almighty God according as he hath persuaded our consciences, we esteem great blessings, and lay us under great obligations of humility and thankfulness, first to God, and then to the king, for the same.

“ The king having been pleased to place you chief governors of this kingdom, we take leave, in our plain way, to congratulate you upon your safe arrival here, and to assure you that we are well affected to king George and the present government, and have a just de-

CHAP. " testation and abhorrence of all conspiracies,
 III. " plots and rebellion against the king and go-
 ~~~~~ " vernment ; and that it hath been our declared  
 1715. " principle, as well as practice, ever since the  
 " Lord called us to be a people, to live peace-  
 " ably and behave dutifully toward those, whom  
 " he hath placed in authority over us, so, by  
 " divine assistance, we are resolved, according  
 " to our duty, to demean and behave ourselves  
 " towards the king and those in authority under  
 " him.

" And as we are a people liable to sufferings  
 " for our tender consciences towards God, we  
 " entreat, that if any such thing should attend  
 " us under your administration, you will be  
 " pleased favourably to admit us to lay our suf-  
 " fering case before you, in order to seek for re-  
 " dress.

" We sincerely pray to Almighty God, that  
 " he may endue your hearts with divine wis-  
 " dom so to govern, that virtue and piety may  
 " be encouraged, and the contrary restrained,  
 " that so his blessing may attend you here in this  
 " life, and eternal happiness in that to come."

Thomas Wilson and several others by appointment of the national meeting came over to the yearly meeting of London as usual, and at this time with a particular view to join with their brethren in England, in soliciting further ease with respect to the affirmation, which was uneasy to friends in Ireland in a general way, some of whom had been great sufferers, because their consciences would not allow them to make use of the affirmation in its original form.

Thomas

Thomas Story, who was now returned from C H A P. America, went over this year to Ireland, and III. had meetings not only with his friends, but among strangers, in places where no friends resided, and where the society was little known, amongst whom his service was generally well accepted, and he met with little interruption until he came to Kilkenny, the inhabitants of which city are generally of the Romish communion, or Protestants of the high church class, being the ancient residence of the Dukes of Ormond, and at that time under the influence of a lordly high priest, Vesey, bishop of Ossory, whose palace is there. Here are few dissenters of any class except papists ; and this bishop seemed much disposed, as far as he had power, to suffer no other.

Thomas coming to the city, in company with At Kilken-sundry other friends, with a view to procure a meeting amongst the inhabitants, a proper place being procured and fitted up with seats, and the meeting gathered according to appointment, Some time after Thomas had stood up, and was proceeding in his testimony, there came in two men, Arthur Webb and Robert Shervington, and commanding him to be silent, and the people to disperse, he took no notice of them for some time, but proceeded in his testimony, until they disturbed the meeting to that degree that the people were not in a capacity to hear ; then he stopped and asked them who they were, and by what authority they acted thus ? They answered, they were the church-wardens : He replied, the church-wardens had no authority by the virtue of their office to meddle with

1716.  
Thomas  
Story visits  
Ireland.

CHAP. their meeting, nor power to hinder it; so desir-  
III. ed them to desist, and sit down peaceably as  
~~~~ others did. Seeing Thomas and his friends no-  
1716. wise alarmed or terrified by their intrusion, as
they expected, they ordered the people to
disperse, threatening them with the Bishop's
court, and began to take some names, which
some observing went out, but the greatest part
stayed, being displeased at the spoiling of the meet-
ing which had begun well. Soon after came one
Joseph Worley, serjeant at mace, and a constable
along with him, while Thomas was still stand-
ing and exhorting the people as he could get op-
portunity; they desired him to come down, for
they had a warrant from a justice of peace to
apprehend him, and disperse the meeting. Tho-
mas told them the Quakers were well known to
be a peaceable people, and subject to govern-
ment, and desired them to have a little patience,
till he had cleared himself to the people, to
which they discovered no aversion, till some of
the superior persecutors cried out, How well
you execute your warrant? They then took
him, Edward Cooper, Henry Ridgeway and
John Harris away, in custody to the justice's
house, but he would not be seen, being troubled
that he had been drawn in to sign the warrant,
which was brought to him ready drawn up by
Robert Connell the bishop's register, and sent to
him by the bishop, desiring him to sign it; it
was with reluctance he complied; they took
them to other justices, who evaded inter-
fering; till at last they were taken before the
mayor, and this Connell, who being an alder-
man, was a justice of the city by his office;
they

they charged them with holding a riotous and C H A P. unlawful assembly, which being denied, Connell III. acknowledged they were not making any disturbance, but still it was an unlawful assembly, 1716. the act of toleration in England not extending to Ireland. This position Thomas Story endeavoured to disprove; these magistrates then required security for their appearance at the assizes, and for their good behaviour in the mean time; this was refused; the justices wrote a mittimus, but at last dismissed them with menaces of the consequences, if they should attempt to hold any more meetings there.

As these menaces proceeded from a very different disposition to that which the king (to whom the bishop and his adherents were suspected to bear no true allegiance) and superior order of magistrates discovered to this people at this time, they were no way discouraged by them, but concluded to appoint another meeting next morning; Thomas had stood up to proceed in his discourse about half an hour, when the same church-wardens disturbed the meeting as before; but little notice was taken of them, till the mayor's serjeants and constables came and took Thomas Story singly a second time into custody, and carried him before the mayor, Connell and some others, who behaved imperiously, and gave him threatening language. He told them they were not to insult the king's subjects, nor vent their own passions upon them; that if he had broken the law, he was subject to the law; and if they acted without law, they also were punishable by the law. They again required sureties for his appearance at the assizes, committed to prison. and

CHAP. and for his good behaviour, and upon his re-
 III. fusal committed him to jail with the following
 mittimus.

1716.

“ City of Kilkenny, ss. By John Birch, Esq;
 “ Mayor of the said City, and Robert Con-
 “ nell, Esq; one of his Majesty’s Justices of
 “ the Peace for the said City.

“ WE herewith send you the body of *Thomas Story*, he unlawfully assembling himself with
 “ several other persons, and refusing to find
 “ sufficient security for his appearance next
 “ assizes, and for his good behaviour, and him
 “ to keep, till thence discharged by the course
 “ of law; and for so doing this shall be your
 “ Warrant. Given under our hands and seals
 “ this 28th day of *February*, 1716.

“ JOHN BIRCH, Mayor,

“ ROBERT CONNELL.

“ To the Keeper of his Ma-
 “ jesty’s Jail of the said
 “ City, These.”

By this mittimus he was sent to the town jail, and put into the common ward among thieves, in irons; but was not suffered to stay there very long, for Anthony Blunt, the sheriff of the city, a very civil young man, well affected to the king, in resentment to the malicious and arbitrary proceedings of the opposite party, took him out of the common prison

He is by the
Sheriff re-
moved to
his own
house,

son to his own house, where he was provided with a very good room and agreeable accommodations, to the disappointment of the C H A P.
III.
1716. bishop.

The account of his imprisonment brought friends from several parts to visit him, and many stayed in town till the first day; they had a meeting in the sheriff's house, his wife and family and many persons of the neighbourhood being present, wherein Thomas Story bore his testimony against Anti-christ and his ministers, to the ease of his own mind and the satisfaction of his audience.

The next day, going in company with some friends to take the air in the duke of Ormond's gardens, he was accosted by several persons, whom curiosity drew to enter into conversation with this prisoner at large; among the rest justice Warren, who granted the warrant for apprehending him, and acknowledged his sorrow for it; and Alderman Haddock and others, who entering into conference with him, began to discourse about his confinement, at which they freely expressed their indignation.

In the mean time the mayor and alderman Connell also came in a great chafe, which was heightened when they saw these persons in friendly conversation with him. As they advanced towards them, Thomas began to speak to his company, concerning the grounds upon which they founded their proceedings, viz. a supposition that the toleration act did not reach Ireland, which Thomas proceeded to refute, shewing that the act extended to all the king's dominions; that this had been the intention of

CHAP of the king and his predecessors, since the law
 III. was made, and that upon several addresses pre-
 1716. sented to him by friends, the king had assured
 them of his protection, particularly on one
 from the last yearly meeting of London, when
 Thomas was present with many others, he was
 pleased to answer their address in these words,
 " I thank you for your assurance of duty and
 " affection to my person and government, and
 " *you may always depend upon my protection.*
 " But it seems," continued he, " the mayor
 " and the magistrates here insist in an op-
 " nion quite opposite to this, at the hazard
 " of what may follow; for you may assure
 " yourselves we are as jealous and tenacious
 " of our gospel and natural liberties, as any
 " body here can be bent to deprive us of
 " them."

The mayor
applies to
Justice
Warren to
join in send-
ing T. S.
out of the
county,
who refuses.

The Mayor and his party discovered great rancour. They immediately applied to Justice Warren to join them in sending him out of the county, for their own jurisdiction extended no farther than the precincts of the city. But the justice refused, telling them he had done too much of this drudgery for them already, and would have no further concern with them, but leave them to their own measures. This vexed them greatly, and occasioned more words, which grew pretty hot on both sides, till the justices and their party, who were for the king and indulgence, asked them, " how they came
 " to connive at so many masses in open view,
 " and be so furious upon the king's friends and
 " peaceable subjects?" " And pray, Mr. Mayor," said he, " what notice have you taken of the
 " seditious sermon you heard yesterday in the
 " little

“ little church? you can hear such with plea- C H A P.
 “ sure, whilst you treat these loyal subjects with III.
 “ so much severe usage; did you, Sir, demand
 “ that person’s notes, and bring him to ac-
 “ count for it?” The mayor replied, “ that
 “ was my lord bishop’s business, not mine.”
 “ If that was not your business, being a mat-
 “ ter of religion, pray how comes it to be so
 “ much your business to meddle with these peo-
 “ ple, who have given you no other occasion
 “ but about their religious opinions, to which
 “ they have equal right and liberty with other
 “ his majesty’s protestant subjects.”

1716.

This discourse plainly discovers the temper of both parties, and of what class the persecutors were; and it had that effect upon the mayor, that when he grew cool the next day, he took up the mittimus, and sent Thomas Story word that he was at liberty, and might go when and whither he pleased; and made an apology for his conduct, that he would not have done what he did, but that *the Clergy as one man strongly urged him to it*, by telling him, they had thought him a man for the church, but to find him so remiss, looked quite otherwise; that for his own part it gave him no concern what meetings they had, and was glad he was now like to be out of the way, being obliged to attend the judges at the assizes at Wexford as deputy clerk of the crown, hoping all would be over in his absence. Yet he was again drawn in by the bishop to repeat the like treatment.

Many friends from divers places being come to visit Thomas Story, they concluded upon another <sup>Again im-
prisoned.</sup>

C H A P. another meeting next first day in the same place,
 III. which was interrupted in like manner as the
 former had been, and Thomas again taken pri-
 soner, and after him William Brookfield of Dub-
 lin, who stood up to speak after Thomas was
 taken away ; they staid but a short time, till the
 sheriff again took them to his own house.

^{1716.} Connell, the bishop's register, held the office
 of deputy-mayor during the mayor's absence,
 and apprehending him still a prisoner under
 the Mayor's mittimus, not knowing, or not
 owning the knowledge of its being taken up,
 he had caused him to be taken and confined
 as a prisoner at large, but finding his mistake
 dismissed them for that time.

and dis-
charged.

They met again about three o'clock in the
 afternoon of the same day, and the bishop hear-
 ing of it, told one of the serjeants, if they met
 again, he would have him put them in the
 stocks, till he came from Church ; but many
 people gathering, after a time of comforta-
 ble silence, under a sense of the divine presence,
 Thomas stood up to speak, and had gone on for
 some time, the people being very still, very well
 satisfied with what they heard, and very desirous
 to hear him out, when the constables and
 serjeants came again, but being grown weary of
 the invidious office, with great reluctance and
 with apologies, and so faintly, that they could
 hardly touch him ; and one of them naming
 the bishop to be concerned, furnished Thomas
 with an occasion to remark, they were not igno-
 rant all this time, who was at the bottom of these
 persecuting measures, but now they heard plainly
 it was the bishop.

The bishop
 at the bot-
 tom of this
 persecution

The

The officers taking him away, it gave great CHAP. offence to the people, many of whom followed them, calling out "shame." Thomas advised them to avoid disturbance, that no advantage might be taken. The officers, abashed and troubled, expressed their concern, that their offices should subject them to actions so contrary to their inclinations, entreated him to walk up to his lodgings till church was done; he told them he was in their custody, and must go whither they should take him; whereupon they accompanied him to the sheriff's house. In the mean time the meeting continued; William Brookfield appeared in the ministry; some constables were there, who stood without, as if they had no mind to understand or hear any thing; the meeting ended in order, and friends were greatly comforted.

Next morning Thomas left Kilkenny to take some meetings in the country, with an intention to return thither at the assizes, the latter end of the week, for he thought it necessary to be there at that time, as his adversaries had required sureties for his appearance there, which, though not free to give, yet, conscious of his own innocence, he esteemed his reputation and that of his profession called upon him to shew himself there, and thereby demonstrate he feared no legal enquiry into his conduct.

He returned accordingly, accompanied by many friends from different parts, which made his return soon known, and raised the people's curiosity to see how the affair would terminate. Some friends went to the judges, and apprized them of Thomas's case and his treatment

C H A P. ment by the high-church persecutors, at the
 III. instigation of the bishop of Ossory; and Amos
 Strettell and some friends of Dublin had pro-
 cured a letter from one of the intended Lord's
 Justices to one of the Judges; for the go-
 vernment favoured friends, and inclined to do
 all they could for them in honor and safety.
 1716.

The judges sent for the sheriff to examine the calendar, and not finding the mittimus therein, it appeared that his adversaries had little hopes of gaining any thing by a prosecution, and therefore having exercised their power as far as they durst, were willing to drop further proceedings, which must here redound to their discredit and disappointment. And the judges advised Thomas and his friends to overlook their proceedings for that time, which they readily complied with. That evening the judge in his charge declared it was treason in any to pull down or deface any public religious meeting-house, which having been a practice with the populace, intoxicated by the cry of Sacheverel and High Church, was construed by the public as a stroke at the partisans of that faction, who were in power at Kilkenny.

Friends ap-
point another meet-
ing, which
ends to
satisfaction Thus Thomas being released from the power of his opponents, and the next day being the first of the week, he and his friends concluded to appoint another meeting, which was very full, comfortable and quiet. Just as Patrick Henderson had kneeled down to prayer, the mayor's serjeants came in very quietly, stayed till he had done, and till Thomas Story stood up and spake awhile; then one of the serjeants stood up, and with great reluctance, (as was apprehended) and low

low voice, said, he was sent by the mayor to C H A R P. command them in the king's name to disperse; III.
but quickly added, "but if you will not, I can-
" not compel you," and so went civilly away. 1716.
Thomas had an opportunity now, for the first
time, to go through with the subject before him,
and after a time of supplication, the meeting con-
cluded.

They had another meeting in the afternoon, T. S. again
in which they met with no interruption or dis- committed
turbance. Yet the bishop finding the former to prison or
measures ineffectual to accomplish his desire, the Act of
was meditating further means of gaining his Uniformity
ends. He had conceived a notion that the Act
of Uniformity passed in the reign of Charles II.
would reach Thomas Story's case, and he was
so precipitate as to issue a warrant in his own
name, directed to the sheriff to arrest and com-
mit him to the common jail for three months
without bail or mainprize; intending to wreak
his malice by confining him in an incommode-
ous common prison the whole time; for he had
sent for the sheriff and reprimanded him sharp-
ly, and threatened to call him before the house of
lords, for giving him the liberty of the town upon
his first commitment.

Upon a consultation between the bishop, the
mayor and alderman Connell, the bishop's mis-
take was discovered in giving the warrant him-
self; for, by the act upon which he proceeded,
he was only to certify the offence to two jus-
tices or mayor, and then the civil magistrate
was to issue his warrant and mittimus. This
error being detected, it was concluded that the
mayor should issue his warrant and mittimus,
which he did accordingly as followeth:

" City

C H A P.

III. " City of Kilkenny, ss. By John Birch, Esq;
 ~~~~~ " Mayor of the said City.  
 1716.

" Whereas I received a Certificate, under  
 " the hand and seal of the Right Reverend  
 " Father in God Thomas Lord Bishop of Ossory,  
 " in which he certifies, that Thomas Story, a  
 " Quaker, did this day preach in the said City  
 " of Kilkenny, contrary to the Act of Uniformi-  
 " ty made in the seventeenth year of the reign  
 " of King Charles the Second.

" These are therefore in pursuance of the said  
 Act and Certificate, to will and require you,  
 " on sight hereof, to apprehend the body of the  
 " said Thomas Story, and him so apprehended to  
 " convey to the common jail of the said City,  
 " there to remain for the space of three months,  
 " without bail or mainprize; whereof fail not  
 " at your peril, and for your so doing this shall  
 " be your Warrant. Given under my hand and  
 " seal this 17th day of March 1716.

" JOHN BIRCH, Mayor.

" To the several Constables, and  
 " Officers of the said City."

This warrant was served upon him in the evening of the same day at the sheriff's; but the sheriff declared he should not leave his house that night, whatever the consequence might be. Thomas soon after procured the act, and read it over carefully, whereby he was clearly convinced, they had exceeded the limits of law, the act having no relation to the people called Quakers,

Quakers, their meetings or preaching ; but only C H A P. to their own parish priests, to reduce them to III. one scantling, and uniformity of prayer and ~~ways~~ worship ; and to prevent the ministers of Oliver's days from retaining the benefices of which they were in possession, without an unreserved conformity to the episcopal church in every respect ; but had no respect to those who preached without pay.

Upon this discovery he told the sheriff it was false imprisonment, and desired him and others to take down in writing at what time he was arrested, because there might be occasion for their evidence. The sheriff seemed surprised that the great bishop and his counsellors should commit such a blunder ; however he took account of the time.

But it seems probable, that upon further consultation and consideration, they had themselves discovered their mistake, for next morning, pretty early, the serjeant who arrested him, instead of conveying him to the common jail, to which he was committed, brought him a message from the mayor, that he had taken up the warrant and mittimus, and that he was at Finally set  
at liberty. liberty to go where he pleased. Thomas observed upon this, that the mayor ought to send him a liberate under his hand and seal, and not imagine him entirely at his disposal, to toss in and out of jail at his pleasure, but that he had his remedy at law against him and them who had used him thus.

The serjeant retired, and a little after the mayor came himself to inform him he was at liberty, for he taken up the mittimus and destroyed

CHAP. stroyed it. Thomas said, " Since that violence,  
III. " by which my just liberty hath been obstructed  
~~~~ " is taken away, it is now returned to its natu-  
1716. " ral course, and if I could find it consist with
" what I profess, I might consider of ways and
" means to do myself justice against such vio-
" lent and illegal proceedings ; but as it is a
" wrong done me for the sake of my religion,
" I may probably bear it with patience for
" that reason, being sensible of the advantage
" I have of my enemies." The mayor made
very little reply, but civilly departed.

The result of these proceedings was honorable to Thomas and his friends, and their profession gained ground in the estimation of the public. Many eyes were opened to see the bishop and his spirit and party, and what might be expected, if he and they were reinstated in that power, which they still grasped after and longed for, at the same time looking with an invidious eye at the toleration, which deprived them of it.

C H A P. IV.

I R E L A N D CONTINUED.

Friends allowed to answer Bills in Chancery upon their Affirmation.—Act of Exemption from the Penalties of second Eliz.—A Provincial Visit.—First Affirmation Act in Ireland.—Account of John Barcroft.—Alexander Seaton.—Thomas Wight, and Thomas Wilson.

ALTHOUGH the dissenters in general in C H A P. this kingdom, and the people called Quakers in IV. particular, do not appear to have been subject ~~to~~ ^{1718.} to persecution for their religion to that degree that they were in England during the reign of King Charles and after, as, I apprehend, several of the penal laws of that reign did not extend to Ireland; so as yet they had not received the legal privileges which their brethren in England had done by the *Act of Toleration*, or that *for accepting their solemn Affirmation instead of an Oath*. But in the year 1719 they received a partial relief in both cases. Great sufferings having attended them lately as well as formerly, through the litigious and fraudulent practices of ill-designing men, in filing bills in Chancery against them, where their answers would not be received without an oath, frequently in order to defraud them of their just dues. Friends being encouraged by the moderate and indulgent disposition of the pre-

CHAP. sent government, concluded if an act for a
 IV. plain and easy affirmation could not be yet
 1718. obtained, to endeavour to procure a clause in
 some suitable bill to empower the Chancellor
 and the Barons of the Exchequer to receive
 friends answers without an oath in such cases
 as they might think convenient; and their ap-
 plication was so far attended with success. For
 Friends
 answers to
 bills in
 Chancery
 upon their
 Affirmation
 allowed.
 in an act of parliament, entitled "*An Act for
 the Amendment of the Law,*" a clause was ob-
 tained, allowing friends answers to bills in
 chancery upon their affirmation, and producing
 a certificate signed by six creditable friends;
 but they did not obtain a general affirmation
 act till the year 1722, and then only for three
 years.

*Act of Ex-
 emption
 from the
 penalties of
 2d Eliz.*

The same year a clause was obtained in an act passed for exempting protestant dissenters from certain penalties to which they were liable, allowing friends the privilege (in common with the others) of worshipping God according to their consciences without molestation. It was hereby enacted, that the statute of the second of Queen Elizabeth for the uniformity of common prayer, whereby all persons are required to resort to their parish church or chapel, &c. shall not extend to any protestant dissenters, who shall take the oaths of fidelity, &c. under the like restrictions with the act of exemption and toleration passed in England in 1688. And every Quaker, who shall make or subscribe the declaration of fidelity to King George, of renouncing the pope and pretender, &c. shall be exempted from all penalties in the aforesaid act, and shall enjoy all the privileges and advantages as other Protestant dissenters.

The

The society being, through the favour of di- C H A P.
vine providence, and the clemency of the rulers IV.
of the land, exempted from the severe trials
and grievous sufferings to which they had former-
ly been expos'd, were now expos'd to trials of
a different kind, viz. a season of peace and pro-
sperity, which some amongst them, both in this
and the neighbouring nation, were observed not
to sustain with that fortitude, wisdom and in-
flexible virtue, which their predecessors had
maintained, through the severities inflicted upon
them. Complaints were made to the national
meeting, in the third month, of the disregard
to the rules and good order of the society,
discoverable in libertinism in conduct amongst
many of the youth, and a negligence and luke-
warmness of spirit in the discharge of religi-
ous duties in some of more advanced age;
that an aspiring mind had incited some indi-
viduals to extend in commercial engagements
beyond the bounds of moderation, or beyond the
extent of their own capital, or capacity to ma-
nage with reputation and justice, whereby the
property of other men was invaded; debts con-
tracted above their ability to pay, to the inju-
ry of their creditors, and the reproach of their
religious profession. In order to obviate these
and other evils, a provincial visit was made to A provin-
the several monthly meetings in the provinces cial visit.
of Leinster and Ulster; and Ambrose Rigge's
warning * ordered to be reprinted and distributed
amongst friends for general caution.

This year several friends, according to usual
practice, were deputed to attend the yearly
meeting of London, to endeavour with their

S 2

friends

* See page 12.

C H A P. friends there to promote a joint application
 IV. for a form of affirmation that might be easy
 ~~~~~ to all friends. Thomas Wilson, who was one  
 1721. of them, spent some time in visiting the meet-  
 Some friends of this nation pafs over to England to promote an application for amendment of the affirmation act.  
 inings of friends in sundry parts of England, and afterwards in the city of London, in joining his assistance with friends there in their solicitations to parliament for the relief desired, which, we have seen, was attended with success in obtaining such a form of affirmation as made it easy to all friends, to their general comfort and satisfaction.

1722. And friends in Ireland, who generally disapproved the form of the first affirmation, and did not expect to obtain a more easy form from the parliament of that kingdom than they had a precedent for from England, had made no application on that account till now; but having now a precedent to their mind, they solicited the legislature of Ireland to grant them the like favour, as the parliament of England had granted to their brethren there, and succeeded so far as to obtain an act to accept their solemn affirmation in the same terms and under the same restrictions as their brethren in England had done, to continue in force for three years, and to the end of the then next sessions of parliament\*.

Application for an affirmation act in Ireland.

In

\* This affirmation, which was afterwards made perpetual in 1746 (the 19th year of Geo. II.) is in these words:

"I A. B. do solemnly, sincerely, and truly declare and affirm :" And no person is entitled to it, unless he shall affirm in the form aforesaid, that he is "of the profession of the people called "Quakers, and has been so for one year last past."

The affirmation will not qualify a person to hold any place under the government, or to serve on juries, or to give evidence in criminal causes.

In this year died John Barcroft, of Arkill, C H A P. near Edenderry. He was the son of William IV. and Margaret Barcroft, born at Shralegh, near Rosenallis in the Queen's county, in the year 1722. Account of 1664. He was the first friend who came to John Bar- settle near Edenderry after the wars, and was croft. principally helpful to settle a meeting in that town, encouraging a few families of friends to meet together to worship God, and was very serviceable in that meeting, which since became very large.

His example gave efficacy to his endeavours, being himself a zealous attender of these meetings, and that not in a formal way, but under a lively sense of the solemnity of the duty, he was diligently exercised to wait for power to worship God in spirit and in truth, according to his requiring, whereby he experienced a growth in the knowledge of God, and the mysteries of his kingdom; and his heart being thus prepared, he received a gift in the ministry about the 33d year of his age. But being a modest and humble man, he was possessed of great fears, in the prospect of being called to this service; the various remarks and censures to which he might be exposed; his observing some in that line, who hurt themselves and the people by exceeding the bounds of their gifts, multiplying words without life, were discouragements in his way, to that degree, that he lost his hold of the true faith, which gets the victory over fleshly reasonings, and was left for a season in the dark; but afterwards it pleased the Lord to cause the true light to re-illuminate his mind with a clear sight of the duty

he

**C H A P.** he required of him, and then he was strengthened  
 iv. ed to give up in obedience to the heavenly call,  
 ~~~~~ and in great tear uttered a few words in the  
 1722. meeting, and in proceſs of time became a diligent and ſuccellous labourer for the promotion of righteousness, both in his native country and in England; having viſited the meetings in the provinces of Ulſter and Munſter, feverally, eleven times, in the ſervice of the gospel, to his own peace and the edification of the churches, and been ten times at the yearly meeting of London.

His miniftry was plain and lively, in which he was not forward to make a public appearance, without real neceſſity. In the management of his outward affairs he was diligent and discreet, yet fervent in ſpirit, he kept them ſo in their proper place, as not to ſuffer them to be any impediment to his religious duties, being freely given up to ſerve the Lord, his church and people, preferring the proſperity of truth and righteousness as his chief joy. His conuerſation among men eminently adorned his profession; being affable and cheerful, yet grave, meek and humble, preferring others before himſelf. A peace-maker, ſingularly ſerviceable in composing diſferences. A useful helper in the government of the church, being well quaſified for that ſervice, and his hands ſtrengthened therein, by ruling well his own house. A ſympathizing viſiter of the ſick and the afflicted; charitable to the poor, and given to hofpitality.

Account of
Alexander
Seaton.

In the firſt month 1723-4, died Alexander Seaton of Hillsborough, about the 71ſt year of his age, and 47th of his miniftry. He was born

born in Aberdeen county in Scotland, and at the age of seventeen was put to the college of old Aberdeen, where he continued about two years. He afterwards staid some time at the house of Alexander Forbes of Acorthies, whose wife was his kinswoman; and they being friends exemplary in conduct, it pleased the Lord to open his understanding, so that he was convinced of the truth of our principles in the year 1675, and afterwards confirmed by being present at a dispute between Robert Barclay and George Keith, and some students of the university. In the year 1676, he with many other friends was committed a prisoner to the Tolbooth of Aberdeen, where he was detained nineteen months, in which time his mouth was opened in a living testimony to the truth, which he continued afterwards to bear when at liberty, labouring in the gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, being instrumental to turn people from darkness to light, and from the power of satan to God, in Scotland, Ireland and England.

Some time after his marriage he took up his abode in Glasgow, where he resided some years. The few friends who resided in that city suffered much persecution, both from the magistrates and the rude multitude, who haling them out of their meetings, beat and abused them in the streets, frequently to the danger of their lives, and committed them to prison. On this account our friend A. Seaton found himself engaged in mind to dwell there, not only to bear a part of the burden in the heat of that time of persecution, but also for the strengthening, comforting and encouraging his brethren to faithfulness and constancy through their various tribulations,

C H A P.

IV.

1723.

C H A P. tribulations, which had so good an effect, that
IV. he was instrumental, by the Lord's assistance,
1723. to overcome the persecutions, so that friends enjoyed their meetings more peaceably than before. Now finding himself free to leave Glasgow, he took his family over to Ireland, and settled at Hillsborough, in the county of Down. He there duly attended meetings at home, as also the monthly and provincial meetings, in which he was of good service both in doctrine and discipline, having a large, sound and clear gift in the ministry; and although a scholar, was not much known as such in his services for the Lord, not esteeming that learning in comparison of the gift of God and the operation of his holy spirit, under which he was a faithful, humble and meek labourer in the work of the ministry, to the informing the understandings of the ignorant, and to the comfort and encouragement of Sion's travellers; prudent, considerate and seasonable in offering his gift; powerful in prayer; in discipline of a deep and solid judgment, often helpful in difficult cases. He was a man of a good understanding; of clear and sound reasoning; of few words in conversation, and little acquainted with the things of the world. He used daily to devote some part of his time to religious retirement, and adorned the doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ, by a solid deportment and exemplary conversation. In the latter part of his time he was much afflicted with bodily weakness, which he bore with patience and resignation, and died in great peace and quietness, having, among many other sweet expressions

sions on his death-bed, declared, that *he had partaken of the earnest of that joy which should never have an end.*

C H A P.
IV.

This year died Thomas Wight of Cork, in the 84th year of his age. He was the son of Rice Wight, priest of Bandon, a man zealous in the discharge of his office, and more devoted and tender in that respect than the generality of that class of men, and very strict in the education of his children in the established church. Thomas served a hard apprenticeship with a clothier in Bandon, and whilst in his service, hearing of a Quakers meeting to be held in that neighbourhood, he went to it out of curiosity ; but finding that the people sat for a long time silent, he began to be very uneasy, and to think within himself, that as he had heard the Quakers were witches, he might be bewitched if he staid any longer. However, he waited a little while, when Francis Howgill stood up and uttered these words : " Before the eye can see, it must be opened ; before the ear can hear, it must be unstopped ; and before the heart can understand, it must be illuminated." These three sentences, as Francis opened them to the congregation with great clearness and energy, made a deep impression on his mind, and he became in a great measure convinced of the truth of the doctrine preached ; but the prejudice of education, and the shame and reproach he underwent from his relations for going to the Quakers meeting, for a while effaced that impression, until Edward Burrough came into those parts, whose preaching was so powerful and reaching to the state of his soul, and accompanied with such an evidence

1724.

Thomas
Wight.

CHAP. evidence of truth, that he was no longer able
IV. to withstand it. He now resolved, through di-
wine 1724. ^{1724.} divine assistance, to be faithful according to the
light received, through all difficulties that might
attend ; and indeed he became a proverb and a
by-word among his relations and acquaintance,
but he bore it with exemplary patience. Being
rejected by his relations, he lived some time with
his master, who had a great respect for him, on
account of his singular faithfulness and trustiness
in his service.

In the year 1670 he married, and in process of
time had a numerous family, whereupon he en-
gaged in a considerable degree of business, and in
all probability might soon have acquired a large
share of worldly riches; but he was stopped in
the pursuit hereof by an illumination, as he
thought, deeply affecting his mind with a sense to
this purpose, *that he could not be heir to two king-
doms.* Hereupon he grew more retired from the
world and the concerns thereof, and devoted his
mind to the service and promotion of truth, pre-
ferring this before transitory riches. He became
an able scribe and clerk for the meeting of Cork,
and province of Munster, from the year 1680 till
his death, discharging this office from a religious
impression on his mind and zeal for the good
cause. He was the person principally concerned
in compiling an historical account of the rise and
progress of friends in Ireland, which he finished
to the year 1700. He was a man of an exem-
plary life and conversation, and good conduct in
the education of his children ; a pattern of plain-
ness, and a diligent attender of meetings both at
home and abroad, being zealous for the promo-
tion

tion of truth. He was seized with an indisposition which proved mortal in the 9th month 1724, under which he shewed great composure of mind and resignation to the Lord's will, and on his death bed testified his great satisfaction, that he had not put off the great affair of the salvation of his soul to the last, signifying that God had sealed his salvation to him, to the great comfort of those present.

In this year Thomas Wilson of Thornwell,
near Edenderry, in the king's county, departed
this life. A man, who under an unpolished exterior covered great mental abilities, natural and spiritual. He was born at Soulby, in the parish of Daker, in Cumberland. His education was in the way of the church of England, as to religious profession; but he had little advantage thereby, in the improvement of his understanding by literary knowledge, being plainly an illiterate man. Yet by faithfulness to the discovery of the divine light, he became well instructed to the kingdom of heaven, and well qualified to instruct others in the way of life and salvation. In his early youth, from a religious turn of mind, he gave a diligent attendance to the public assemblies for worship, to hear sermons, and repeat them as acts of religious duty, and so zealous, as that sometimes after sermon in the forenoon he would travel several miles on foot to hear another in the afternoon. But he found the ear was not satisfied with hearing, as not being productive of the clear discovery of the way to salvation, the knowledge of which was the earnest desire of his soul. And as the singing of psalms was one part of their devotional exercise in the public worship,

Thomas Wilson.

25

IV.

1724.

CHAP. vi. 1725. worship, he found a stop in his own mind from joining in that part of their worship, from a secret intelligence that men should be made holy, before they could sing to the praise and glory of God; an attainment which he found, by an inspection into the state of his own mind, he was too destitute of ; he also found himself disqualified to sing under the present affection of his mind, which was that of a Godly sorrow, from the heavy load of sin.

About this time he went to a meeting of the people called Quakers, where a friend exhorted to *an inward waiting upon the Lord in faith, to receive power from him over every unclean thought, by which heavenly power, men might glorify and praise the name of the Lord, through the ability of his own free gift.* This affected him greatly, being sensible that this was what he much wanted, and he was seized with fear and trembling to that degree, that the table whereon he leaned was shaken, and the cry of his soul was, *Lord, create in me a clean heart!* and being made sensible, that what was to be known of God is manifest in man, he was drawn off from a dependance on the doctrines of men, and hearing the priests and repeating their sermons, to turn his attention to the reproof of instruction in his own heart, whereby he found sin discovered to be exceeding sinful, and all the evil that he had done was detected, condemned and judged down by the measure of light with which he was favoured, producing that godly sorrow which leads to unfeigned repentance. In this frame of mind he sat down among friends in their silent meetings, patiently enduring the dispensation of condemnation

nation for sin, till by the assistance of divine grace (for which he was fervent in prayer and diligent in waiting) he gradually experienced judgment brought forth unto victory.

C H A P.
IV.

1725.

Through a reverent attention to the inward teaching of the teacher which cannot be removed into a corner, in their silent assemblies friends becoming heavenly minded, and nearly united in love one to another, divine power was much felt, and inwardly revealed amongst them, when no words were spoken; and they experienced the washing of regeneration gradually cleansing their hearts, and the renewings of the holy ghost so filling their souls, that they were concerned of their fullness to minister to others. Amongst the rest, this friend felt it his duty to minister at first in a few words in great fear, but through fidelity improving the talent, and being enlarged in his gift, the word of the Lord, through him, was as a flame of fire against all sin and iniquity. And he soon felt an engagement on his mind, through the prevalence of the love shed abroad in his heart, to travel abroad, to edify his brethren with his gift, and to call sinners to repentance and amendment of life.

His first visit to Ireland was in the year 1682. He landed in Dublin, and from thence travelled to some other meetings, particularly in Leinster province, visiting friends in the counties of Wicklow and Wexford, and had several satisfactory meetings with them, after which he gives us this account in his journal. “ The motion of “ life in me for travelling ceased, and I durst “ not then go further, but returned back to the “ county of Wexford, and wrought harvest work
“ for

CHAP. " for some time. After which James Dickenson
IV. " from Cumberland came to visit friends, with
~~ " an intention to go into Munster, and the Lord
1725. " was pleased to open my way to go with him,
" and we travelled together in true brotherly
" love, and had a prosperous journey ; and I saw
" it was good to wait the Lord's time in all
" things." And when they had travelled through
Leinster and Munster, James Dickenson went
northward. " But" (continueth Thomas) " I
" was afraid of running before my true guide,
" (because they who run and are not sent of
" God can neither profit the people nor them-
" selves) and so I staid at work in the city of Wa-
" terford about sixteen weeks, and went from
" thence to Dublin, and staid the half year's
" meeting, which was large and edifying, and
" from thence took shipping for Liverpool, and
" landed there with my former companion James
" Dickenson.

In the year 1691 he and James Dickenson, having both had a great exercise on their minds to visit friends in America, went to London, and laid their intentions before their brethren there for their concurrence, which they readily received : But the circumstances of the time were very discouraging, and the prospect of the probable dangers which might attend them on their passage thither proved a close trial of their faith ; for the French had a great fleet at sea, and the general rumour at London represented them to lie in their course, about thirty or forty leagues from the land's end. This occasioned in them much serious thoughtfulness and anxiety of heart, with fervent supplications for preservation in sub-
mission

mission to the divine will; under which exercise of mind they received encouragement, by what they believed a heavenly vision, to hope for deliverance or preservation from surrounding danger. James had a clear foresight even of the very manner of their deliverance, and told his companion, even while they were both yet in London, that the Lord had shewn him that the French fleet would encompass them, but that the Lord would send a great mist and darkness between them, in which they should sail away, and see them no more.

CHAP.
IV.

1725.

They communicated their sensations to each other with openness, as companions united in one faith and one lively engagement for promoting pure religion, before they departed from London; and finding the impressions on their minds to agree, they were confirmed in their belief of the divine original thereof, and in faith that it was easy for the Lord to deliver them. Under this persuasion, in confidence in divine protection, they embarked the 9th day of 5^{mo} 1691, and after some time fell in with the French fleet, which chased and came up within musquet shot, and fired at them, when on a sudden a great mist and thick darkness arose between the French and them, so that they could not see one another. Then James arose from his seat, and taking his companion by the hand, said, "Now I hope the Lord will deliver us." Thomas had spent three days in fasting and supplication, that he who in time past smote his enemies with blindness, might descend to interpose in like manner for their deliverance, which, they thought, was graciously answered

CHAP. answered by the event, for the French took
 IV. every ship in their company, except that in
 1725. which they failed and two others, and all on
 board looked upon their deliverance as mi-
 racularous. The other two ships coming up,
 the captain of their vessel called to those in
 the other two to come aboard his, in order
 to hold a religious meeting with them, which
 they readily did, and had a large and good
 meeting, in which they were engaged to return
 their grateful acknowledgments and thanksgiv-
 ings to the author of all their mercies for
 their great deliverance. They pursued their
 voyage and landed in Barbadoes in the 6th
 month. Here, in conjunction with his com-
 panion, the services of our friend were great,
 as also in New England, Rhode-island, Long-
 island, Jerseys, Pennsylvania, &c. where many
 were convinced by his ministry. His visit was
 particularly serviceable to friends in Pennsylva-
 nia, happening at that juncture when many
 were wavering in their principles, through the
 opposition and separation of George Keith, of
 which an ample account hath been already
 given.*

He visited Ireland in the service of the gospel several times before he went to settle there. In the year 1695 he was married to Mary Bewley, of Woodhall, in the county of Cumberland, and soon after removed into Ireland, and settled near Edenderry, in the king's county. In the year 1696 he visited friends in England in the work of the ministry, and again

* See vol. III. page 346.

again in Ireland after his return home, still ap. c h a p. proving himself diligent in the discharge of manifeitfed duty. He had meetings amongst those of other societies, in places where there were no settled meetings of friends, and feve-
ral were so affected by his powerful preaching, that they were thereby convinced, received the truth in the love thereof, and continued steadfast in faithfulness thereunto. From the year 1697 to 1713, he repeatedly visited friends in the nation of his then residence and in England, within which space of time he attended the yearly meeting of London seven times.

In 1713 he undertook his second voyage to America, in conjunction with his former companion James Dickenson, in which visit he had also great service and great consolation in beholding the fruits of his former labours there.

His outward occupation was that of an hus-
bandman, and during the time of his remain-
ing single, he spent many years in the prime
of his days in travels in the work of the mi-
nistry, in Great Britain, Ireland and America,
and to keep himself unincumbered, he employ-
ed himself in the humble station of a day la-
bourer. About the 40th year of his age, en-
tering into the married state, and removing to
Ireland, as aforesaid, he took a farm, in which,
through the divine blessing upon his care and
industry, he was greatly prospered, having an
abundant sufficiency of all things needful. Yet
when his outward substance encreased, he was
remarkable for preserving his primitive humi-
lity and simplicity in his apparel, his table,
his house and furniture; abstaining from all su-

CHAP. perfluity, he confined his desires to things
IV. which were plain, useful and needful, to the
1725. last, confirming the testimony he had to bear
to the simplicity of truth, by an example of
true self-denial in these respects. And, altho'
he managed his outward affairs with care, at-
tention and skill, when at liberty to follow
them, yet he kept them in their proper places,
not suffering them to prevent him from a faith-
ful discharge of his duty, as a member and
minister of religious society, when he appre-
hended a divine call to leave them behind.
He continued a zealous and diligent labourer
in the gospel, even in advanced years, visiting
friends in England in the year 1721, and at
home until the year 1724, when his natural
strength failed. And now near the conclusion
of his life, the review of the manner wherein
he had spent his time, in the best service, that
of his Maker, and of mankind, in sincere en-
deavours to promote religion and righteousness
in his generation, was now his consolation and
crown of rejoicing. Yet as he was always an
humble minded man, so with respect to him-
self, near the finishing of his christian course,
he said, " Notwithstanding the Lord hath made
use of me at times to be serviceable in his
hand, I have nothing to trust to, but the
mercy of God in Christ Jesus." But was
not without an evidence of his everlasting peace
in the kingdom of heaven.

As a minister he was very careful to wait
for fresh ability to minister to edification, under
the renewing of the Holy Ghost, under which
sacred influence, he was often deeply opened
into the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven,

and

and his ministry attended with a reaching power and gospel authority, had a very persuasive and prevalent effect upon his audience, whereby many were convinced, many were converted to righteousness and confirmed in the truth. The excellency of his gift hath often affected strangers with surprize, to find such depth of matter, pertinence of expression and affecting energy, under an appearance of rustic simplicity.

C H A P.

IV.

1725.

He was also zealously engaged to give his assistance with his brethren in keeping up the hedge of discipline and good order in the church, under the like lively frame of spirit and authority of the gospel; his sentiments on the proper qualification for this service, are contained in the following remarks, which were found amongst his papers after his decease.

‘ As I was deeply exercised in my mind about the things of the living God, and the holy order of the blessed gospel of the Lord Jesus, it was opened to me, that all concerned friends that speak in men’s meetings, ought to wait for a due inward feeling of the heavenly gift; and as that gave an understanding, then speak in, and minister in the order of Jesus, which is holy, and all that then speak will be for promoting the way of truth, and keeping all the professors thereof in faithfulness and true obedience to the Lord. I being thus in a travail of spirit, the state of men’s meetings as they now are was set before me; and I saw three sorts of men speaking, and they were in three paths, one sort was on the right hand, where they ran on in their own wills, and were very fierce

CHAP. ' for order but not in a right spirit, they were
IV. ' the cause of long discourses, and greatly dis-
1725. ' pleased the Lord and his faithful people. I
' saw another path to the left hand, and there
' was a great darkness, and a stiff-neck'd peo-
' ple that was for breaking down the orders
' and good rules that the Lord has established
' in his church, then my soul was filled with
' sorrow and cries to the Lord, seeing the
' great danger both these were in. Then the
' Lord was pleased to show me, a middle path,
' and the Lord's people were in it, and had
' the strong line of justice and true judgment, the
' Lord's holy Spirit and heavenly power is their
' guide. I am moved to warn all you that are
' stiff and sturdy in your own wills, to stand
' still and turn in your minds to the heavenly
' gift, in it is the true wisdom and heavenly
' knowledge; and you will learn to know what
' the good and acceptable will of the Lord is,
' and if you speak in the meeting it will be to
' please God and for his honour, not your own,
' for you strive for honour in a carnal mind,
' and seek not the honour of the Lord, but are
' in great presumption.'

C H A P. V.

George II. Accession to the Throne.—Friends address the King on the Occasion.—This Society still exposed to heavy Sufferings for Ecclesiastical Demands.—List of enormous Sufferings of the People called Quakers presented to the House of Commons, which is strongly opposed by the Clergy.—Remarks upon two Pamphlets written against it.—Extracts from the Country Parson's Plea and the Answer thereto.—Petitions sent up against the Bill.—Is passed in the House of Commons and sent up to the Lords.—After a long Debate is lost in the House of Lords.—Address of Thanks to the Bishops of London and Salisbury.—Remark thereupon.—Defence of the Opposition thereto.—Remarks thereupon.

WHEN the account of the late king's death c h a p. was received, his son George the second succeeded to the government of the British dominions. Addresses of condolence and congratulation being presented to him by both houses of parliament, were followed by many others. And the people called Quakers, who were real friends to the Hanoverian succession, esteemed themselves engaged, in point of gratitude, for the extension of their religious and civil liberties

v.
1728
George the
2ds accessi-
on to the
throne.

CHAP. ties in the late reign, and the particular indulgence they had been favoured with therein, to
 V. wait upon the new king with an address upon
 1728. the occasion.

It hath been before remarked, that since the revolution and the benevolence of king William's parliament had granted dissenters the act of exemption from the penal statutes, under which they had so deeply suffered in the preceding reigns, and the legal rule of the house of Hauover, had maintained them in the full fruition of the benefits thereof, that materials for the continuation of this history are less abundant, than they were previous to that period: of the two subjects of suffering, to which they were left exposed, from one they were effectually relieved in the late reign, viz. that arising from their testimony in regard to oaths; but in respect to the other, of tithes and ecclesiastical demands, they have been frequently exposed, since that period, to heavy sufferings both in person and estate. For although the legislature, which in the 7th and 8th years of king William's reign, granted them the first act for accepting their solemn affirmation, instead of an oath in the usual form,* added a clause pointing out an easier and less expensive method of recovering tithes and church rates (so called) extending that called the 40s. act to 10*l.* for Quakers tithe, to be determined in a summary manner by two justices of peace, and levied by their warrant: yet as the said act contained no restraining clause, to prevent the clergy from applying to the more grievous and oppressive prosecutions in the Exchequer and

This society still exposed to heavy suffering for ecclesiastical demands.

* See vol. iii. p. 408.

and Ecclesiastical Courts, many of them manifested a disposition to persecution still, as far as their hands were not tied up by the letter of the law, by applying to these more ruinous methods; and when an easy, ready and unexpensive mode of recovery is in their power, what is it but persecution to attempt the ruin of a man, or prosecute him to perpetual imprisonment on account of a conscientious scruple?

About this time a catalogue of such grievous sufferings was drawn up by the meeting for sufferings, in order in due time to be laid before the public and the legislature: but a more perfect one in 1736, which is here subjoined.

An account of many prosecutions carried on against the people called Quakers for tithes and church rates, Easter-offerings, &c. under the respective heads, and in the several courts following, for sums demanded not exceeding ten pounds value, since the act of the 7th and 8th of king William the third, which provided for recovering of tithe and church rates under the value of 10*l.* in a summary way, with an account of the prisoners committed by process out of the several courts, some of whom continued prisoners to the time of their death, some ten years, others less, whereby several families have been reduced to the necessity of being supported by the charity of their friends.

An INDEX of the Number of PROSECUTIONS.

| Counties. | In the Excheq. | In the Ec. Courts | In other Courts. | In all. | Imprisoned. | Died Prisoners |
|--------------|----------------|-------------------|------------------|---------|-------------|----------------|
| Bedfordshire | 6 | 7 | 1 | 14 | 2 | 0 |
| Berkshire | 6 | 13 | 1 | 20 | 3 | 0 |
| Buckinh. | 11 | 3 | 2 | 16 | 8 | 0 |
| Cambridgsh. | 12 | 5 | 1 | 18 | 9 | 0 |
| Chefshire | 1 | 11 | 0 | 12 | 2 | 0 |
| Cornwal | 12 | 9 | 1 | 22 | 6 | 0 |
| Cumberland | 37 | 10 | 11 | 58 | 27 | 3 |
| Derbyshire | 3 | 5 | 1 | 9 | 3 | 0 |
| Devonshire | 15 | 18 | 0 | 33 | 8 | 0 |
| Dorsetshire | 2 | 4 | 4 | 10 | 2 | 0 |
| Durham | 6 | 9 | 2 | 17 | 10 | 0 |
| Effex | 42 | 6 | 9 | 57 | 9 | 0 |
| Glocestersh. | 20 | 3 | 2 | 25 | 3 | 0 |
| Hampshire | 19 | 2 | 1 | 22 | 6 | 0 |
| Hertfordsh. | 4 | 8 | 6 | 18 | 3 | 0 |
| Herefordsh. | 4 | 2 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| Huntington. | 4 | 1 | 1 | 6 | 2 | 0 |
| Kent | 16 | 11 | 0 | 27 | 4 | 0 |
| Lancashire | 2 | 2 | 16 | 20 | 11 | 0 |
| Leicestersh. | 6 | 11 | 0 | 17 | 6 | 1 |
| Lincolnshire | 16 | 5 | 4 | 25 | 4 | 0 |
| London | 23 | 19 | 0 | 42 | 1 | 0 |
| Middlesex | 74 | 6 | 6 | 86 | 9 | 0 |
| Norfolk | 20 | 7 | 2 | 29 | 8 | 0 |
| Northampt. | 8 | 13 | 4 | 25 | 10 | 0 |
| Nottingham. | 6 | 5 | 1 | 12 | 3 | 0 |
| Oxfordshire | 17 | 1 | 4 | 22 | 4 | 0 |
| Rutlandshire | 1 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 2 | 0 |
| Somersetsh. | 76 | 22 | 9 | 107 | 30 | 1 |
| Staffordsh. | — | 9 | 1 | 10 | 4 | 0 |
| Suffolk | 24 | 7 | 1 | 32 | 5 | 0 |
| Surry | 34 | 21 | 21 | 76 | 13 | 0 |
| Suffex | 36 | 3 | 4 | 43 | 11 | 1 |
| Warwicksh. | 8 | 18 | 3 | 29 | 6 | 1 |
| Westmori. | 5 | 2 | 2 | 9 | 4 | 0 |
| Wiltshire | 12 | 6 | 0 | 18 | 4 | 0 |
| Worcestersh. | 4 | 10 | 8 | 22 | 5 | 0 |
| Yorkshire | 55 | 61 | 20 | 136 | 46 | 2 |
| Wales | 12 | 10 | 5 | 27 | 9 | 0 |
| | 659 | 367 | 154 | 1180 | 302 | 9 |

| From 1704 to 1722. | Sums demanded | | | Value taken | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------|----|----|-------------|----|----|
| | l. | s. | d. | l. | s. | d. |
| James Haviland | 8 | 0 | 0 | 61 | 0 | 0 |
| Thomas Strong | 1 | 10 | 6 | 15 | 11 | 6 |
| Richard Case | 13 | 0 | 0 | 37 | 11 | 6 |
| Thomas Drape | 4 | 10 | 1 | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| Robert Holiday | 11 | 6 | 0 | 60 | 0 | 0 |
| Richard Allen | 1 | 15 | 6 | 80 | 0 | 0 |
| Henry Wake | 1 | 4 | 6 | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| Joseph J. Williams | 2 | 0 | 0 | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| John Taylor | 1 | 5 | 8 | 44 | 18 | 0 |
| Alexander Moore | 6 | 15 | 11 | 87 | 16 | 11 |
| Jeremiah Ellis | 1 | 0 | 0 | 44 | 0 | 0 |
| George Bewley | 3 | 10 | 0 | 93 | 10 | 0 |
| Samuel Tulley & Thomas Warner | 3 | 2 | 8 | 75 | 16 | 0 |
| William Pearson | 13 | 0 | 0 | 19 | 16 | 0 |
| Jonathan Peasley | 7 | 0 | 0 | 237 | 5 | 0 |
| Daniel Williams | 1 | 6 | 20 | 0 | 0 | |
| Abram Butterfield | 8 | 0 | 0 | 90 | 0 | 0 |
| Roger Jenkins | 14 | 6 | 0 | 84 | 10 | 6 |
| Thomas Jenkins | 1 | 5 | 0 | 67 | 10 | 0 |
| Thomas Ellwood | 12 | 0 | 0 | 24 | 7 | 6 |

The above Sums are exclusive of their own Expense in those Suits, and suffering many Imprisonments in the Course of the Proceedings, and these are only a Few among the many we could produce.

N. B. These Accounts appear to be drawn up about the Year 1728.

C H A P. In the year 1736, they also presented a petition and the annexed case to the parliament then sitting.

V.
1736.
Case of the
people cal-
led Qua-
kers pre-
sented to
parlia-
ment.

The Case of the People called Quakers.

In the seventh and eighth years of the reign of king William the third, an act was passed for the more easy recovery of small tithes, offerings, oblations, obventions or compositions, not exceeding the yearly value of 40*s.* from any one person in a summary way, by justices warrant; which was continued by an act of the eleventh and twelfth of the said king, and was made perpetual by an act of the third and fourth of queen Anne.

In the seventh and eighth years of the reign of king William the third, in an act for accepting the solemn affirmation of the people called Quakers, like remedy is provided for the recovery of tithes and church rates from Quakers, who shall refuse to pay the same, the sum not exceeding 10*l.* which act being temporary was continued by a subsequent act, and was by an act of the first of king George the first, extended to all rates customary or other rights, dues or payments, belonging to any church or chapel; to be paid for the maintenance of any minister or curate in any church or chapel.

These acts, it is humbly conceived, were intended not only for the ease of the prosecutor, but also to prevent oppression and ruinous prosecutions.

Notwithstanding which, there have been prosecuted in the exchequer, ecclesiastical and other courts, in England and Wales, for demands

mands recoverable by the said act, above CHAP.
eleven hundred of the people called Quakers,
of whom near three hundred were committed
to prison, and several of them died prisoners.

V.
1736.

Those prosecutions, though frequently commenced for trivial sums, from 4*d.* to 5*s.* and great part of them, for sums not exceeding 40*s.* have been attended with such heavy costs and rigorous executions, that above 800*l.* has been taken from ten persons, where the original demands upon all of them collectively, did not amount to 15*l.*

By such prosecutions, the favourable intent of the aforesaid acts, is in a great measure frustrated; and many of the said people suffer as if no such laws were in being: though christian charity must admit, that their refusal of such demands is purely conscientious, since no reasonable man, considering his circumstances and family would incur such severe sufferings on any other account.

'Tis therefore, humbly submitted, whether such prosecutions, frequently attended with excommunications and imprisonments, be not grievances which call for redress, and whether it be not reasonable to restrain the prosecutors from proceedings so ruinous and destructive.

In pursuance of this petition and case, a bill for their relief, was brought into the house of commons, and printed; when the clergy mustered all their strength against it, whereby they manifested themselves no less eager to hold fast the power of oppression, which the law had left them, in the recovery of the tithe than the tithe itself. Three anonymous pamphlets soon made their appearance, reported to be all the productions

CHAP. productions of bishops. Two of them appear
V.
so little to the purpose, as to bring little credit
to their authors, or little strength to the cause;
but the third, supposed to be written by the
then bishop of London, a strenuous advocate
for ecclesiastical power, (the author of *Codex*
juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani ably answered by
judge Folter) handled the subject more fully
and more artfully in a pamphlet under the title
of *the Country Parson's Plea, against the Quaker's Bill for Tithes, &c.* This piece received a
copious and spirited answer, in a letter to the
author, by [one who styles himself] a member
of the house of commons, but was afterward
found to be lord Hervey. But even men of
parts and penetration engaged in varnishing a
doubtful cause, will sometimes forget themselves,
and yielding to the impulse of reason and truth,
at one stroke overturn all they have been la-
bouring to establish: thus the country parson,
after racking his invention, endeavouring to
shew the hardships to which this bill would ex-
pose him, seems in the conclusion fairly to own,
that no wise or good clergyman would apply to
any other than the method prescribed by the
bill. And of consequence he had been labo-
riously advocating the cause of those parsons
only, who are neither wise nor good. His an-
tagonist who hath overlooked no part of his
plea, upon this paragraph, argues thus, "If
" the wisest and best use it of choice, this
" will be an argument that the unreasonable
" and unjust should be restrained to it; for are
" the subjects of England to have no better se-
" curity against oppression than the wisdom and
" goodness of the clergy? or ought the clergy
" to

“ to be trusted with a power, which according C H A P.
 “ to the parson’s confession, neither a wise cler- V.
 “ gyman nor a good clergyman can use with- 1736.
 “ out mischief either to himself or his neighbour.
 “ Where the power of oppression is, acts of op-
 “ pression will undoubtedly be.”

But the bishops did not trust their cause only to these pamphlets. * Circular letters were written to the clergy, in all or most parts of the kingdom, in consequence of which, petitions were presented against the bill, by the clergy of Middlesex, and most other parts of England and Wales. Counsel was heard in behalf of the petitioners, and several alterations proposed in the bill, which after long repeated debates surmounted all opposition, and was sent up to the lords.

In the house of lords the bill was read a first time; many petitions were here also presented against it. The petitioners were ordered to be heard by their counsel upon the second reading, and it was ordered, that counsel in favour of the bill should be heard at the same time. Upon the second reading of the bill, they were heard for and against it, and after they had finished and were withdrawn, a motion was made for committing

The bill
passeth in
the house
of com-
mons.

* The country parson’s respondent remarks, that, the bill ought to pass were it only for an example, that it is not in the power of a *mitred doctor*, by his *letters missive*, stirring up petitions from every diocese, to intimidate an house of commons, in a matter of this high concern to the justice of the kingdom. “ I hope,” says he, “ a body of English gentlemen will never weigh petitions in quantity against any bill whatever; especially bills for the reformation of the church, against which they are certain of having as many remonstrances, as there are deaneries, archdeaconries, chapters, colleges or ecclesiastical precincts in England and Wales.”

CHAP. ^{V.} mitting the bill, whereupon a very long debate ensued.

1737.

The motion was made by lord H——n (supposed Hinton) supported by lords Hervey and Carteret, the duke of Argyle and earl of Ilay, and opposed by the bishop of Salisbury, the lord Chancellor, lords Hardwick and Lovell. But after the merits of the case were debated at large, the reality of the grievances and the unreasonableness of the sufferings of the petitioners being too manifest to be evaded, a new argument was taken up against the scheme of the bill, as it came from the commons; that it was very imperfect, and so incorrect as to render it unfit in its present form, to be passed into a law; and that the session was so far advanced, as did not allow time for altering and amending it. This being urged as a reason against committing the bill at this time, and the question being put, upon a division, it was carried in the negative by 54 not-contents to 35 contents. The strenuous and united exertions of the clergy, and the weight of their interest preponderated, and the bill was lost.

In the majority we find fifteen bishops,* three of whom were commonly reported to have early taken up their pens in opposition to the petition of the people called Quakers, and the bill intended for their relief; two of these, the bishop of London and the bishop of Salisbury seem to have distinguished themselves by an extraordinary zeal, not only for preserving the claims of the clergy unimpaired, but the power of continuing to be vexatious and oppressive in the recovery

* The third, the bishop of Litchfield and Coventry.

But is
thrown out
in the
house of
lords.

covery thereof, when either their disgust or interest might influence them thereto. As they are particularly distinguished by an address of thanks voted by the clergy of their respective dioceses; the former from the clergy of London to their bishop, for the many and great "instances of his care and vigilance in maintaining the constitution of the church of England, in its present happy establishment, and the legal rights of the clergy; and in particular for the steady and vigorous opposition, which he had lately given to the attempt that had been lately made upon them." The latter from the clergy in the neighbourhood of Devizes, Wiltshire, "to manifest the grateful sense they retain of their preservation from that strange and unheard of infringement of their rights, which was lately attempted by the Quakers in their tithe bill, to return him their humble and hearty thanks, for the indefatigable pains he had taken, and the firm stand he made, agreeable to the trust and duty of his high station, in defence of their just and indisputable privileges."

From these clerical representations of the proceeding of the people called Quakers, it seems they think it a criminal design against the constitution of the church of England, in its present establishment, a strange and unheard of infringement of their rights, to apply to the legislature for a redress of real grievances, when these grievances arise from the undue exercise of power, in the hands of the ecclesiasticks; and that to oppress, imprison for life, and ruin a neighbour in his estate or circumstances, is the just and indisputable privilege of the priesthood.

Whereas

1737.
Address
from the
clergy to
the bishops
of London
and Salis-
bury.

C H A P. Whereas, candidly I think it would be more for
 v.
1737. the honour, the service and real interest of any church, to have all such things rectified or removed, as administer just occasion of offence and reproach, and are in their own natures *indisputably wrong*.

London In an anonymous piece published about this
 Mag. July, time, under the title of, *A modest defence of the*

1737. *opposition lately given to the Quaker's Bill*, I find a gross misrepresentation of fact, either for want of being acquainted with the true state of the fact; or knowingly, in which latter case the writer is inexcusable, he faith, “If people suffered “ themselves to be imposed upon by false re-“ presentations of the clergy's having abused “ the liberty out of *malice or ill-will*, they know “ whom to blame.”

**A misre-
presentati-
on of fact.**

“ The Quakers were early challenged with-“ out doors, to make good a charge so injurious “ to the character of the clergy, by allying “ particular instances of such abuse. The same “ motion is said to have been made, but in “ vain, in one house of parliament; and when “ it succeeded in another house, the few instan-“ ces they alledged (not above four or five, if “ I am rightly informed) and those so little to “ the purpose, when enquired into, as shewed “ how great reason they and their friends had “ to guard against the specification of particu-“ lars. And it was astonishing to hear them “ plead *unpreparedness*, after they had repre-“ fended those abuses in the gross, (to the num-“ ber of one thousand) as the only foundation “ of their bill.”

Now by the real state of the case it will appear that,

i. That

1. The people called Quakers made no false c h a p. representation of the clergy's having abused the liberty, &c. in publishing a list of the grievous sufferings of their friends, in cases wherein they might have recovered their claims in a more easy way.

2. That when they were early challenged to make good their charge by affligning particular instances of such abuse; they answered the challenge by producing a specification of the grievances complained of with as much expedition as the nature of the case would admit.

3. That his information was very wrong, if he was informed, that "the instances alledged were not above four or five," whereas they were more than twice as many hundred, and the greatest part so much to the purpose, as clearly shewed (*not* "how great reason they, and their friends, had to guard against the specification of particulars," but) *how great reason they had to petition for redress of grievances so severe and oppressive.*

The following cases extracted from which, may, with many others, clearly evince that the application of this people, for the redress of grievances, so severe and distressing was very reasonable and requisite, and the opposition thereto, no instance of a tender regard to the maxims of christianity or humanity.

I. Grievous Prosecutions for trivial Demands.

[*Bedfordshire, 1707.*] William Francis, of Luton, a poor shoe-maker, was prosecuted in the ecclesiastical court,

CHAP court, at the suit of Christopher Eaton, vicar; for a demand of *one great*, for Easter-offerings so warmly, that the charges of the prosecution came to eighty pounds. The poor man was excommunicated, and lay close confined in Bedford jail above 19 months, till an act of grace came out, and set him at liberty.

[1702.] Adam Laurence and Eliz. Vokins, prosecuted in the ecclesiastical court, at the suit of John Piggott and Thomas Price, wardens of the parish of West-Charlow; were committed to Reading jail, on a writ *de Excommunicato capiendo*, on the 18th of the month called January, 1702, and continued prisoners between six and seven years, till discharged by an act of grace in 1709: a long imprisonment for a demand of about nine shillings from both of them!

[1703.] John Tydd of Chatteris, was prosecuted in the Exchequer, at the suit of William Turkington, parson of Chatteris; for a demand of thirty-four shillings, for two years small tithes, and was committed to Cambridge castle, on the 14th of the month called August, 1703, and continued prisoner, above six years and two months, till discharged by an act of grace, on the 28th of October, 1709.

[Cornwall, 1704.] Richard Hitchins, was prosecuted in the Exchequer for tithes, at the suit of Stephen Hugoe, vicar of the parish called St. Austell. The parson was advised by several persons of distinction, to take his tithe by justice's warrant; but he turned the deaf ear to all their persuasions, and would proceed in the Exchequer. The tithe adjudged him by the barons was but one pound nineteen shillings and six pence, for which the costs of suit were taxed at thirty-eight pounds; for non-payment whereof, the poor man was committed prisoner to the sheriff's ward, at Bodmin, on the 13th of the month called May, 1707, and continued close prisoner there three years one month and two days, and then removed himself to the King's Bench prison at London, where he remained a prisoner till the 7th of the month called May, 1714: so that the whole time of his imprisonment

ment was seven years, for an original demand of one C H A P.
pound nineteen shillings and six pence. V.

V.

[*Cumberland, 1701.*] Ann Henderson, Widow, and her son Robert Henderson, prosecuted in the Common Pleas, at the suit of Thomas Story, parson of Banton; were arrested on the 12th of the Month called June, 1701, (though the writ, upon search made afterward, bore date on the 17th.) Upon trial the Jury gave a verdict for one penny damages, it being for tithe-wool. They were imprisoned 11 months, and released by an act of grace.

[*Lancashire*, 1719.] Israel Fell, prosecuted for tithes, at the suit of William Turton, parson of Standish; was a prisoner four years for tithe, but of one shilling value; and then discharged upon the death of the prosecutor.

[Middlesex.] William Jackson, Robert Chalkley, Arnold Frowd, John Beale, Jonathan Wood, John Constantine and John Marshall, were prosecuted in the Exchequer, for Easter-offerings and small tithes, at the suit of John Wright vicar of Stepney. The rates set upon Easter-offerings, and tithes claimed by the said John Wright, in his bill of complaint against them preferred in the Exchequer, were as followeth,

| | s. | d. |
|---|----|----|
| For Easter-Offerings upon }
every person, }
A Cock, — — — — }
A Hen, — — — — }
A Goose, — — — — }
A Duck, — — — — }
A Sow, — — — — }
A Cow, — — — — }
Turnips for every acre sowed }
in the field, — } | ○ | 3 |
| | ○ | 2 |
| | ○ | 1 |
| | ○ | 4 |
| | ○ | 4 |
| | 1 | 8 |
| | ○ | 6 |
| | 4 | 0 |

The said vicar also made claim upon gardens, orchards, calves, lambs, wool and milk, in his said bill of complaint. Whereas 'tis known, that the persons aforesaid, being most of them inhabitants in and near Spittlefields (and John Constantine in Ratcliff) their places of habitation allow not the keeping such things,

C H A P. they not using lands; some of them being mean shop-
 V. keepers, and others such as laboured honestly for their
 own and families subsistence, therefore, not capable of
 being stocked or possessed of such goods, as were
 mentioned in the bill.

The aforesaid prosecution was carried on to the imprisonment of four of the said persons, viz. Robert Chalkley, John Constantine, William Jackson and John Beale, who were committed to Newgate on the 8th day of November, 1703, upon attachments, at the suit of John Wright, vicar of the said parish of Stepney. The said John Constantine, was discharged from his imprisonment in the year 1708, being about five years after.

[*Warwickshire, 1705.*] Jane Robinson of Austrey, widow, was prosecuted in the Exchequer for tithes, at the suit of Charles Wainwright, parson of Austrey. The parson's demand was for tithes of apples, &c. 2s. 8d. and of bees, 8d. the poor widow was committed to Warwick jail, and lay there about nine months.

[*Westmorland, 1701.*] Thomas Savage of Clifton, prosecuted for tithes, at the suit of Rowland Burrough, clerk of Browham and Clifton, was arrested and committed to prison, in the month called January, 1701, and continued prisoner till November, 1702, for a demand of 3s. 4d. for tithes. Upon application to the judge who went that circuit, he was directed to move the court of King's Bench, which motion being afterward made, he was discharged.

[*Yorkshire, 1699.*] Edward Walker of Thornton le Moor, in the parish of little Otterton, was prosecuted in the Exchequer, at the suit of John Walker, parson of little Otterton; for one year's composition for tithes, amounting to about 3s. 4d. and was committed to York castle, on the 21st of October, 1699, and remained prisoner about nine years and three quarters, till discharged by supersedeas upon an act of grace on the 20th of the month called July, 1709.

2. Exorbitant Distraints.

[*Buckinghamshire, 1719.*] Abraham Barber, Thomas Olliffe and Nicholas Larcum, were prosecuted in the Exchequer, at the suit of John Higgs the elder, and John Higgs the younger, tithe-farmers. The demand on Barber, Olliffe and Larcum, was but eight shillings for tithe on all three of them, and the decree of the court but for four shillings. They were all taken up by an attachment in November, 1721, and carried to Ailsbury jail. On the 20th and 22d of October, 1722, the goods of the said Abraham Barber were seized for the whole demand and charges, viz.

| | £. | s. | d. |
|-------------------------------------|----|----|----|
| 7 Quarters and 4 bushels of Wheat, | 11 | 0 | 0 |
| 16 Quarters of Malt London measure, | 12 | 16 | 0 |
| For a demand of 8s. Taken | 23 | 16 | 0 |

[*1707.*] Thomas Ellwood, Abraham Butterfield and William Catch, were prosecuted in the Exchequer, at the suit of Joshua Leaper, tithe-farmer under Humphrey Drake, rector of Amersham.

The original demand for tithes on Thomas Ellwood was about 12s. for which he had taken from him, household goods, and an horse, worth

| | |
|--|--------------|
| On A. Butterfield 7 or 8 <i>l.</i> for which he had taken from him, corn, hay, and cattle, worth — — | } 90 0 8 |
|--|--------------|

| | |
|--|---------------|
| On W. Catch between 7 & 8 <i>l.</i> for which he had taken, grafts worth 8 <i>l.</i> 14 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> 5 years rent of a tenement. 12 <i>l.</i> 5 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i> | } 20 19 8 |
|--|---------------|

[*Gloucestershire, 1716.*] Jonathan Peasley, late of Just in the parish of Olveston, was prosecuted in the Exchequer, at the suit of Benjamin Bayly, vicar of Olveston. The vicar's demand on Jonathan Peasley was for three and a half, or four years, small tithes of about seven pounds value. He was committed to Gloucester

C H A P. cester jail, and the next term, brought up by *Habeas V. Corpus* to the Exchequer, and set at liberty: But the vicar soon after renewing his suit, Peasly was brought to the Exchequer again in 1717, and committed to the Fleet; and proceeded against to a *Sequestration*, by which was seized and taken from him in December, 1717,

| | £. s. d. |
|--|--------------------|
| 14 Cows, 6 heifers and 3 yearlings, valued at | 77 0 0 |
| A wheat mow, a bean mow, and about
20 bushels of beans, — — — | } 19 0 0 |
| 2 Beds, 2 Bedsteads and Bedding, | 6 0 0 |
| 2 Sides of bacon, 10 hundred of cheese, | 13 5 0 |
| All the rest of the goods in and about
the house, — — — — | } 40 0 0 |
| Three ricks of hay, — — — | 12 0 0 |
| 7 <i>l.</i> <i>per Annum</i> free land during his life, | 70 0 0 |
| For about 7 <i>l.</i> value | Taken 237 5 0 |

N. B. The said vicar did threaten to ruin the said Jonathan Peasley of his stock and estate, and all that he had: and executed it in a great measure; for by his seizure the poor man was left not worth ten pounds, yet had a wife and three small children.

[*Somersetshire*, 1712.] Charles Bewsey and his wife, were prosecuted in the Exchequer, at the suit of Hugh Lambert, parson of Mudford, for a demand of 7*l.* 10*s.* for tithes. Charles was first taken up, on an attachment in November, 1712. In September, 1713, he and his wife were committed to prison, and kept close prisoners from their family of seven children; and in the month called January following, were brought up to London, and then had liberty given them till the next term. On the 15th of the month called June, 1714, they were again brought up to the Exchequer bar, and committed to the Fleet prison. In the month called April, 1717, his goods were seized to the value of 9*l.* 15*s.* also his freehold estate worth about 3*l.* *per Annum*, which with the fruit

fruit the first year was worth thirty six pounds : C H A P .
Also another estate of upwards of twenty pounds V.
per Annum, kept two years, forty pounds. So that he
had taken from him in all, to the value of 8*l.* 15*s.*
(beside his suffering imprisonment above five years)
for an original demand of 7*l.* 10*s.*

[Wales, 1721.] Daniel Williams of Langhorne, in South Wales, was prosecuted in the Chancery court of the grand Sessions of Carmarthen for tithes, at the suit of Thomas Philips, vicar. His demand on Daniel Williams was about 1*s.* 6*d.* and his son, not a Quaker, tendered the vicar 5*s.* before any prosecution began, bidding him take his due for his father's tithe; but the vicar refused it, and replied, Daniel *must suffer*. He was committed to Carmarthen jail on the 16th of the month called August, 1721. On the 22d of the same month he was brought into court, and recommitted to prison, where he continued about fifteen months. On the 25th of the same month, an order of court was issued for entering upon and sequestrating all his estate real and personal; which was afterward executed: his goods, worth about 20*l.* were seized and disposed of without appraisement. His freehold estate, worth about 80*l.* was also seized: the persons who made the seizure, would not permit the said Daniel's daughter, then in the house, to take her own wearing apparel, till persuaded to it, with much ado, by one of their own company: they turned her out of doors, lockt up the house, and took the key with them. On the 12th of September, 1724, the said Daniel by his council, moved the court, that the said sequestration might be discharged; whereupon it was referred to the register to examine, and certify whether the same did regularly issue out, or not: upon his report in the affirmative, the sequestration was confirmed; and an order of court was made, requiring the said Daniel to pay the plaintiff his costs of the said reference, which were taxed at 3*l.* 9*s.* 3*d.*

3. Repeated Prosecutions of the same Persons.

[*Buckinghamshire, 1704.*] John Babington was prosecuted for tithes, four years successively, at the suit of *Patr. Fuller*, parson of Sherington : in 1704, in the Common Pleas for treble damages: in 1705, in the Exchequer: in 1706, in the Ecclesiastical Court: in 1707, in the Common Pleas. The first of which issued in the seizure of his cattle, to the value of above 40*l.* for 7*l.* 16*s.* demanded. The second, in his imprisonment in Ailsbury jail, on an attachment. The third, in his imprisonment there, on a writ *de Excommunicato capiendo*. And the fourth, in a seizure of his goods to the value of above 100*l.* for a demand of 25*l.* for two years tithe; one of which appears to be the same, for which he had been excommunicated and imprisoned before.

[*Cumberland.*] Robert Atkinson, of Laurence Holme, was prosecuted in the Exchequer for tithes, at the suit of Sir George Fletcher, proprietor. He was first imprisoned at Carlisle: in the month called May, 1698, he was removed by *Habeas Corpus* to London, and committed to the Fleet prison, about 230 miles from his wife and family. While he continued prisoner in the Fleet, the suit was carried on to a sequestration, and in the year 1700, his corn and cattle were seized to the value of 58*l.* besides which, in 1701, they made two other seizures, and detained from him an horse and cow worth 6*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.* in all, 64*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.* for a demand of 26*l.* An Order was also issued for seizing the real estate of the said Robert Atkinson, but before the attorney had time to execute it, the plaintiff, Sir George Fletcher, died.

[1708.] Robert Atkinson, aforesaid, was again prosecuted in the Exchequer, for tithes, at the suit of Henry Fletcher, proprietor. He was committed to Carlisle jail, in the month called May, 1708; and discharged in the month called July, 1709, by an act of general

general pardon. In 1710, the said Henry Fletcher C H A P. V. subpœna'd him again into the Exchequer; but that suit ended soon after by the death of the prosecutor. He had during the process against him, his corn and cattle seized at one time to the value of 5*l.* 1*s.* 9*d.* at another time goods worth 15*l.* and at a third time to the value of 3*l.*

[*Derbyshire*, 1711.] William Hancock of Cutthorpe, was prosecuted in the Exchequer, at the suit of Richard Milner and John Woodward, tithe-farmers, and again in the next year, 1712, in the Common Pleas. He was taken up by an attachment out of the Exchequer, and committed to the common jail at Chesterfield, on the 13th of October, 1711, and continued prisoner till the 25th of the month called March 1712, and was then set at liberty by the prosecutor's order, who dropt his suit in the Exchequer; and soon after proceeded against him in the Common Pleas for treble damages, got an execution, and for an original demand of 16*s.* 9*d.* for six years, made a seizure of his household goods, and a cow, to the value of 20*l.* leaving him nothing of value for the use of his wife and children.

[*Worcestershire*, 1700.] Isaac Averill, of Broadway, was prosecuted for tithes, on the statute for treble damages, at the suit of the Lady Coventry. The jury found the value of the tithe for three years, 13*l.* and an execution was awarded for 39*l.* treble damages: his goods were taken by distreſs, to the value of 59*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

Isaac Averill, aforesaid, was prosecuted for tithes, on the statute for treble damages, at the suit of Anthony Stevens, renter, of one fourth part of his tithes. The tithes claimed by Stevens amounted to at most but 2*l.* 10*s.* for which the goods of the said Averill were seized by William Geatly and William Westwood, bailiffs, to the value of 31*l.* 5*s.*

[1703.] Isaac Averill of Broadway, was prosecuted for tithes, on the statute for treble damages, at the suit of John Phillips, John Davies and William Lampitt, tithe-farmers under the Lady Coventry, for three fourth

C H A P. fourth parts of his tithes. The tithe due from Averill
 V. for one year, to the renters of the three fourth parts,
 on trial appeared to be but 4*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for which were
 taken from him grain, hay, straw, &c. worth
 38*l.* 4*s.* 4*d.*

[1709.] Isaac Averill, aforesaid, was prosecuted for tithes, on the statute for treble adamas, at the suit of Anthony Stevens, renter, of one fourth part of his tithes. The said Isaac Averill, for 5*l.* 5*s.* demanded by Stevens, had taken from him in the year 1709, corn, bedding, and other goods, worth 44*l.* 4*s.*

[1710.] Isaac Averill was again prosecuted on the same statute for tithes, by the aforesaid Anthony Stevens. In 1710, he had taken from him for a demand of 5*l.* 5*s.* goods worth 52*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

[1711.] Isaac Averill, aforesaid, was prosecuted on same statute, at the suit of the aforesaid John Philips, John Davies and William Lampits. In 1711, for tithes of 13*l.* single value, he had taken away, his horses, waggon, plough, cart, and corn, to the value of 65*l.* 11*s.*

N. B. The said Isaac Averill, at six several times, for tithes amounting in the whole but to 43*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* had taken from him goods worth 29*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.*

4. The following Persons with others laid down their Lives in Prison.

[*Cumberland, 1702.*] Mable Henderson, of Kirkbanton in Cumberland, was prosecuted for small tithes, at the suit of Thomas Story, priest of Banton, and committed prisoner to Carlile jail, on the 7th of September, 1702, and died a prisoner.

[1715]. Thomas Wilkinson, William Caddy, Anthony Skelton, Richard Kirkbride, John Drape, sen. and John Drape, jun. of Holm-Cultrum, were prosecuted for tithes, at the suit of Joseph Johnson and John Barnes, tithe-farmers. They were committed prisoners,

prisoners to Carlisle jail, Caddy and Skelton died pri- C H A P.
soners, and the others continued four years. V.

[*Leicestershire*, 1705.] John Richards of Norton, was prosecuted in the Exchequer, for small tithes, at the suit of Theophilus Burditt and William Fenwick, priests of Hallaton: who had first obtained a warrant from Sir George Beaumont, a justice of the peace: But afterwards declined proceeding in that way, and determined to take a severer course, which they did effectually; for he was committed to jail, and continued prisoner five years, until he died.

[*Somersetshire*, 1696.] William Lyddon of the parish of Withil, was prosecuted in the Exchequer for tithes, at the suit of William Pratt in the behalf of some children of an impropriator. Lyddon was committed to Taunton jail, in the month called April, 1697, and was continued prisoner many years, till he died.

[*Yorkshire*, 1699.] Richard Parrott and Samuel Spanton of Nafferton, were prosecuted in the Ecclesiastical court, for tithes and Easter-offerings, at the suit of Robert Jaggen of Nafferton, impropriator or tithe-farmer. Parrot and Spanton, were both committed to York castle on a writ *de Excommunicato capiendo*, on the 13th of the month called March, 1699: The prosecutor's demand on Spanton, was about 30s. for half a year's tithes. After some months close confinement he was taken sick, and not like to live; his mother intreated the prosecutor to permit him to end his days at home; but was answered, *That if he would not pay, his body must suffer*: So he died there in prison, on the 26th of October 1700, and the prosecutor died very suddenly about two weeks after. Parrott, for a trivial sum for oblations, was continued a prisoner above seven years, being released on the 5th of the month called April, 1707.

[*Yorkshire*, 1700.] Richard Kendall of Hill-housebank, in the parish of Leeds, was prosecuted in the Ecclesiastical court for tithes, at the suit of William Hewan, tithe-farmer. He was committed to Rothwell jail, by a writ *de Excommunicato capiendo*, in the month called

CHAP. called June, 1700, and died in the same prison, on
 V. the 24th of the month called January, 1702, after
 about two years and seven months imprisonment, for
 2*l.* 15*s.* adjudged by the court.

These specimens, extracted from a great number of others of like kind, are sufficient proof, that the people called Quakers did not apply to parliament for redress, without real and urgent reason; and every unprejudiced reader will be ready to reflect with the Country Parson's respondent, that, "The *number of suits*
 " *herein specified*, the *prisoners*, the *distresses*,
 " and the vast disparity between the demand
 " and sum exacted in suits for tithe, must
 " raise abhorrence in any compassionate mind.
 " The single article of *one hundred pounds*, taken
 " for *eighteen pence*, would be a just reason for
 " abolishing tithes, if suits for them could not
 " be carried on in more humane methods."

1740. The clergy by their exertions prevented the bill for the relief of this society, from ruinous prosecutions, being passed into an act; but could not prevent free remarks being made upon the many hard cases, contained in the specification published at the instance of their advocate, expressive of censure and dislike of such proceedings. To prevent or alleviate the disrepute to their character, naturally resulting therefrom, the clergy of several dioceses published examinations of these cases, as far as those of their respective dioceses were concerned. The drift of these examinations seemed to be to palliate, and put a deceptive gloss upon facts, which they could not disprove; and at the same time, by unfair reflections and uncandid insinuations to

The clergy
publish ex-
aminati-
ons of the
cases,

to bring the Quakers under suspicion of artifice, C H A P.
of which they were innocent. This put them V.
under the necessity of publishing vindications 1740.
of their *brief account* of facts, and of themselves
from the invidious suggestions of their ene-
mies. In reply to what had been insinuated in
one of these examinations, they alledge that
they have proved,

1. That 1180 persons have been prosecuted. Recapitu-
lation of
the case.
2. That 302 of them were committed to

prison.

3. That 9 of them died prisoners.

4. That the sums sued for were frequently from 4*d.* to 5*s.* that in one case a poor widow and her son, were imprisoned eleven months on a verdict for one penny for tithe-wool. And that in another case two persons were excommunicated, and sent to jail; for a demand of but one farthing * each, for a church-rate.

5. That

* John Walton of Shildon, Thomas Lackenby of Bishop Auckland, Ralph Dixon of Woodhouse, Love-God Murwaite of Bishop Auckland, widow, and John Dalton of the same, were prosecuted in the Ecclesiastical court, at the suit of Thomas Sayer and William Slater, wardens, for a church-rate so called.

The demands were on Walton, two shillings and six pence, Lackenby, two pence halfpenny, Dixon one farthing; on the widow Murwaite, four pence, and on Dalton, one farthing; they were all committed to Durham jail, on a writ *de Excommunicato capiendo*; but several of their neighbours, troubled at their imprisonment for such trifles, paid the demands of the court, and got them discharged.

Such trivial causes of excommunication, are a degrading of that office, which ought to be chiefly reserved for a testimony against gross enormities or immoralities. In these latter cases to allow a pecuniary compensation to buy off the censure, is priest-craft imported from Rome, to issue them on frivolous occasions destroys their force, as matters of discipline;

C H A P. 5. That a great part of those prosecutions
 V. were for sums not exceeding 40s.

1740. 6. That heavy costs and rigorous executions have attended those prosecutions, of which there are a great many instances; in some of which the proportion of the sums levied to the original demand, is greater than that of 800%. for demands of fifteen.

The specifications in the account published by friends, therefore, are so far from being defective, that they demonstrate, the grievances complained of to be really greater than 'twas represented.

After the perusal of this summary review, can any thing be more clearly manifest, than that the Quakers did not apply for redress of imaginary or pretended, but of real and very severe grievances; and the reason why their petition was at last rejected, may, perhaps be gathered from the following passage in a defence of *reasons for not paying tithes*, viz.

' I think it is more than probable, that the discernment and moderation of the latter ages having rejected the principles which were the original foundation of tithes, would naturally have rejected the tithes also; or if they did not think proper to repeal, would have modified these tithe-laws with more equal regulations ere now, were it not that the clergy, still forming a body distinct

pline; to enforce them in such cases by the civil sanctions of Romish canons, is an oppressive grievance; and to excommunicate those who were never of their communion, is exceedingly ridiculous and absurd. In any civil concern how would that man expose himself to censure and reproach, who would go to law for one groat or one farthing; suits for such sums seem peculiar to ecclesiastical demands.

‘ distinct from the body of the people, with C H A P.
 ‘ separate views and interests, have constantly V.
 ‘ watched over the interest of the church, im-
 ‘ properly so called, that is their own interests,
 ‘ with a jealousy ready to take the alarm at
 ‘ every attempt, however reasonable, which
 ‘ they apprehended had ever so remote a ten-
 ‘ dency to affect their revenues, or even their
 ‘ power of inflicting penalties on those who
 ‘ questioned their claims, and to exert the
 ‘ weight of their united influence, which from
 ‘ their character and connections is a very pow-
 ‘ erful one, to frustrate any such attempt.’

By the different examinations on the part of the clergy, and the vindications of their brief account, the people called Quakers had a controversy on their hands till the year 1740, by which time they received the following account of a similar prosecution, whereby three friends were committed to York castle.

“ The suffering cases of Richard Ward, Ben- Case of R.
 “ jamin Burn, and William Boocock, on the Ward, B.
 “ account of refusing to pay tithes. Burn, and W. Boo-
 cock.

“ We the said Richard Ward and Benjamin
 “ Burn of Hillam, in the parish of Monk-Fryl-
 “ ton in the county of York, and William
 “ Boocock of Mithley, in the same county, who
 “ had dwelt at Hillam; were all subpæna'd to
 “ appear at the Exchequer bar in Trinity term,
 “ 1735, at the suit of Robert Robinson of
 “ Monk-Fryston, tithe-farmer, under Dr. Tho-
 “ mas Sharp, prebendary of * Wistow, to answer

“ a

* A prebend belonging to the cathedral of York.

C H A P. " a bill which he filed against us, in which he
 V
 1740. " complained against us for keeping and de-
 taining from him the tithes of our corn, hay,
 " and other small tithes, though he or his
 " servants, had taken our corn from us in
 " kind every year; if he happened to miss
 " taking it, he took more for it the next year;
 " and he might have taken from us the value of
 " our small tithes, at any time by justices war-
 " rant, without putting himself or us to such
 " great trouble and expence. In Michaelmas
 " term following we put in our answers, and
 " gave an account of the value of our tithes,
 " according to the best of our knowledge.
 " after several terms he amended his bill; after
 " which he replied, and refused to accept of
 " our answers: Some time after he amended his
 " replication, and left out the tithes of our
 " corn; then called for a commission of enquiry
 " to examine witnesses, &c. which was held
 " at Pontefract, in the 11th month called Ja-
 " nuary, 1737, the charge of which costs us
 " on our part above 16l. though he proved
 " scarce any thing more in value, than what we
 " had confessed in our answers. In Michael-
 mas term following, 1738, he obtained a de-
 cree against us; Ward, for nine years small
 " tithes, 4l. 19s. 9d. Burn, for nine years small
 " tithes, 2l. 17s. 6d. Boocock, for five years
 " small tithes, 1l. 11s. 1d. and also a decree for
 " costs, 57l. 3s. 4d. and for our conscientiously
 " refusing to pay the abovesaid sums, we were
 " taken up by attachments issuing out of the
 " Exchequer court in Easter term, 1740, and
 " committed prisoners to York castle, the 30th
 " of 3d month called May following, and have
 " remained

" remained prisoners here ever since, to the c h a p.
" great loss and detriment of our families."

v.

1740.

York castle the 7th of
the 3d month, 1741.

Richard Ward.
Benjamin Burn.
William Boocock.

" N. B. A little time before we were brought
" hither prisoners in the 3d month, 1740, the
" said Robert Robinson, by virtue of a warrant
" from Robert Mitford and Robert Pockley,
" justices, distrained one cow of Richard
" Ward's, appraised at 3*l.* 10*s.* for five years
" small tithes, since the aforesaid suit com-
" menced; and from Benjamin Burn he di-
" strained a cow and a calf valued at 2*l.* 15*s.*
" for tithes, since the said suit commenced."

Had this tithe-farmer, who appears to have known the method of recovering by justices warrant, taken that method for the recovery of the tithes which he sued in the Exchequer for, would it not have been much better for himself, as well as his neighbours? for he might then have got the tithes he now lost, and have saved himself the expense of 5*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* and perhaps much more which the Exchequer prosecution might cost him: had the restriction the Quakers desired taken place, this tithe-farmer would have received a very considerable advantage thereby, in being withheld from hurting himself to imprison his neighbours.

Each had a separate warrant for the costs, which was 5*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* they were discharged the 13th of 6th month, 1743, by virtue of a clause in the act for insolvents, passed in the last session of parliament, without paying the usual

C H A P fees to the jailer: by the following justices of
 V.
 the peace, who met at the castle of York, pur-
 fuent to an adjournment of quarter sessions from
 Bradford, the 21st of the 5th month last, and
 before whom the prisoners appeared, viz.

1740

Francis Barlow,
 Richard Dawson,
 Mark Braithwate, L. D. an advocate,
 Richard Gilpin Sowry.

It was pleaded by council on behalf of the prosecutor, that the whole costs of suit, viz. 57*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* was chargeable on any one or two of the prisoners, if the third was insufficient; it being given in by the prosecutor's evidence, that William Boocock had no effects, real or personal.

The justices laid before the prosecutor his cruelty, and took off his demand upon William Boocock, and one third part of the costs, and discharged William Boocock.

Nor would the justices lay Wm. Boocock's part upon the other two friends; and taking off twenty pounds, which Dr. Sharpe allowed the prosecutor upon renewing the lease, granted a warrant for distress, as follows,

| | £. s. d. |
|-------------------------------|----------------------|
| On Richard Ward, for tithes, | 4 19 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| For one third costs, — | 12 7 9 |
| | <hr/> |
| In all | 17 7 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| | <hr/> |
| On Benjamin Burn, for tithes, | 2 17 6 |
| For one third costs, — | 12 7 9 |
| | <hr/> |
| In all | 15 5 3 |
| | <hr/> |
| On | |

On the prosecutor's return from the levy, they C H A P.
were all three released; William Boocock V.
freely. 1740.

During these transactions, some members of
this society, of eminent usefulness among their
brethren, had been removed by death, accounts
of whom I have deferred in course, with a
view not to interrupt the narrative of the pro-
ceedings in reference to their petition, for the
redress of their grievances in these prosecutions for
tithes.

C H A P VI.

Account of Alexander Arscott.—Samuel Overton.

*—John Gurney.—Benjamin Bangs.—James
Dickenson.—Thomas Story.—John Fothergill.*

IN the year 1737, Alexander Arscott of Bris- C H A P.
tol, an useful and respectable member of civil VI.
and religious society, was removed from works
to rewards. His father was a clergyman of the
church of England, incumbent of Southmoulton 1737.
in Devonshire, and designing this son for the
same function, he gave him an education suit- Account of
able thereto; after the preparatory tuition at
school, he was removed to the university at
Oxford to complete his studies. But now when
he had acquired the attainments esteemed suit- Alexander
able qualifications for undertaking the sacerdo- Arscott.
tal

CHAP. VI.
1737. tal office, and might have had a reasonable prospect of preferment, (his father being well respected and beloved among the great men in that country,) religious considerations preponderating in his mind, turned his views from worldly prospects to those of an everlasting duration, and by the convincement of his judgment, being induced to adopt the profession of the people called Quakers, he declined the thoughts of pursuing the line of life intended for him. This gave his parents great anxiety, both as appearing to them a mistaken choice, and disappointing their hopes of his preferment, insomuch that they frequently gave vent to their sorrow with tears, whereby the feelings of filial affection were awakened in him to join in their sorrows; and to call in question the rectitude of his choice, as he had been and desired to be a dutiful son to tender and affectionate parents; his understanding became clouded for a season, by doubts respecting the propriety of his conduct.

Being hereby brought low in his mind, and still desirous above all things to please his maker by doing his will to the best of his understanding; to keep a conscience void of offence to God and to man, (especially to his parents) as far as might be consistent with what might appear to him required as duty to the Almighty. During this season of spiritual conflict, he was much exercised in inward supplication to be rightly directed, and therein received a fresh sight, that, if he would be Christ's disciple he must forsake father and mother for him, and be faithful to the manifestation of his will in all things.

He

He then found there was no other way to at- C H A P.
tain that solid peace of mind, of which he was VI.
in pursuit, but by yielding unreserved obedience
to the discovery of duty; this appears the moving
cause of his joining in society with the
people called Quakers, as being experimentally
convinced of the reality of the inward appearance
of the grace of God, and the necessity
thereof to enable men to overcome their evil
propensities, and lead them into a life of virtue
and holiness. From that time till his decease,
being about thirty-five years, and when he was
settled here in good business, and in estimation
with his fellow citizens, he had the satisfaction
to find his parents better reconciled to his
change; and that his interest with his friends
and others, put him in a capacity of being serviceable
to the rest of his father's family, by pro-
curing them good places for getting a livelihood.

Upon his entering into this society, his worldly prospects vanished of course. But his good qualities engaging the esteem and cordial regard of his new friends, it was not long till he found encouragement amongst them in that line of life, which by his education he was well qualified to undertake. He removed to the city of Bristol, about the year 1702, and kept school there for the education of his friends children and others with reputation. He received a gift in the ministry, his labours wherein were very acceptable and edifying to his friends, amongst whom he chiefly exercised it, of which they gave this testimony, that, "his ministry gave evidence of its purity, being accompanied with divine wisdom, power and life."

CHAP. "life". Although he did not travel much from
VI.
1737. home, yet he occasionally visited sundry meetings in the counties adjacent, to the edification of his friends. He also generally attended the yearly meeting in London.

The abilities and purity of his mind manifested in a circumspect life and conversation, increased the esteem in which he was held not only by his intimate friends, but also with the good and judicious part of his neighbours, and his acquaintance in a general way.

His love to God was manifested by an unaffected and fervent piety; his love to his neighbours by his readiness to do good to all men, as far as in his power. In the society of which he was a member, his service was very beneficial and extensive, not only publicly in the exercise of a lively and affecting ministry, and skilful exertions for introducing and preserving good order in general; but in a more private way, in preventing differences, and promoting love and unity amongst them, under the impression of love and tender sympathetic concern, visiting the widow and fatherless; the afflicted in body and mind, the sick, the disconsolate and the poor; to each of whom he would freely extend a hand of help, administering assistance, consolation, and generous contributions himself, and using his influence with others to contribute to the want of such as stood in need of food and raiment. "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy."

The instances of his benevolence and the respectability of his character, were not confined within the pale of the society; conspicuous amongst his fellow citizens for judgment, understanding

standing and integrity, he was very much employed in deciding differences between them, either as arbitrator or umpire: so that to the blessing of the peace maker, he might seem to have a title above most.

He wrote sundry tracts, which were well received, particularly those entitled, *Some Considerations relative to the present State of the Christian Religion.*

His last indisposition was a diabetes, which gradually weakened him, till at last in a peaceful frame of mind, he departed this life, the 30th of 1st month, 1737, in the 61st year of his age.

Samuel Overton of Grovefield, in the county of Warwick, was born in the parish of Tachbrook in that county, in the year 1668, of parents in religious society with the people called Quakers, by whom he was educated in the same profession.

The circumstances of his father (a husbandman engaged in hard labour on his farm for his subsistence) seem not to have been such as afforded him the advantage of obtaining much learning. Being in his youth inured to bodily labour, he was very helpful to his father in the management of his business. He was favoured with good sense and a comprehensive natural capacity, so far compensating for the defect of his education, that he wanted neither understanding nor skill in the prudent and successful management of his temporal affairs, or his spiritual calling.

For, through the divine blessing prospering his honest and judicious exertions in his occupation as a farmer, he procured not only a comfortable

Account of
Samuel
Overton.

CHAP. VI.
1737. fortable subsistence on a farm, where his honest parents laboured under very great difficulties, but in process of time attained to plentiful circumstances.

And in the laborious season of his youth, being humbled in mind, he was favoured with a merciful visitation from on high, whereby he received a religious turn, inducing him to pursue after the attainment of the durable riches of righteousness, after which his search was not in vain. For as he was faithful to manifested duty, he received a dispensation of the gospel to preach, and laboured diligently therein to the edification of his friends and others. He travelled frequently abroad in religious visits to his friends in different parts of England and Wales, particularly in the western counties of the former, and for many years attended the yearly meeting of London; in all which his labours in the ministry were very acceptable and serviceable. Being a man of universal benevolence, and well qualified to propagate righteousness, and the doctrines of pure christianity, he was concerned to appoint meetings for the information and benefit of people of other persuasions. The same principle excited him to be frequent in attending marriages, and burials amongst friends in the county wherein he resided, and those adjacent, as affording opportunities of spreading the doctrine of truth among the people in a general way.

He was no less distinguished for his service in meetings of discipline, being one of the first who was remarkably zealous to establish and keep them up in those parts. He was a man of sound judgment, and steady deportment therein, often advising

advising friends to a dispassionate temper of ^{C H A P.}
mind, and to speak from a sense of truth, which ^{VI.}
he was careful to exemplify in his own conduct, ^{1737.}
being a pattern of meekness and brotherly con-
descension.

His private character, as described by his friends, who were well acquainted with him, appears to be truly respectable, viz. that he was an affectionate husband, a tender father, a kind and liberal master, a true and faithful friend, a generous and good neighbour; charitable to the poor, and sympathizing with the afflicted; open-hearted and hospitable to his friends; a lover and promoter of peace, he was often chosen an arbitrator to compose differences amongst his friends and others; in which capacity his coolness, sagacity and impartiality, enabled him to bring them generally to an agreeable issue.

He not only in doctrine zealously and repeatedly recommended a holy and circumspect life and deportment, but was a lively pattern and example thereof, in his own conversation and conduct.

He had a lingering illness for several months, which he bore with Christian patience; and as often as the intermission of his distemper would admit, he was very diligent in attending meetings, wherein he very devoutly exercised his gift, and was supported and carried through in the discharge thereof, beyond what could in the eye of reason be expected, being freely given up to spend and be spent for the service of truth; and even at the last meeting he had amongst friends at Warwick, in the week he died, notwithstanding the infirmities of his body, he was deeply

C H A P. VI.
1737. deeply and excellently concerned in testimony; and, as if sensible of his approaching death, and the loss which the church was likely to sustain by his removal, he fervently besought the Lord in prayer, that out of his abundant goodness, he would *be pleased to raise up and send more labourers into his harvest*; which was very affecting and heart-tendering to several then present.

He departed this life the 23d of the seventh month, 1737, and was interred in friends burial ground in Warwick, the 27th of the same, being attended by a great number of friends and neighbours, and generally lamented by all sorts of people, aged 69, a minister about forty-eight years.

1740. John Gurney, of Norwich, was descended of Account of worthy and respectable parents, who received John Gurney. the truth in the love of it, soon after the appearance of friends in that city. His Father had no small share in suffering for his religious testimony in the most severe persecutions to which friends were exposed in those early times, and remained unshaken in his faithfulness to the end of his days. His parents took particular care in giving their children a religious education, and had the consolation to behold the beneficial effects thereof, in most of them.

This their son John Gurney, in particular, being early illuminated with wisdom to discern the folly and vanity of youthful delights and pursuits, turned his attention to religious and virtuous considerations in his young years; and by submitting to the guidance of the holy Spirit, he grew in experience, in sanctification, and in an understanding of the mysteries of the gospel; and about the 22d year of his age, his mouth

was

was opened in ministry in the religious assemblies of his friends, much to their edification and comfort; and as he advanced in years and experience, his excellent gift was enlarged, he being an eloquent man, and mighty in the scriptures. His ministry was often attended with the demonstration of the spirit and of power; his expression plain and intelligible to the meanest capacity, and his doctrines suitably adapted to the states of the auditory reached the witness of God in many of their hearts: he approved himself a workman that needed not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth. Though his eminent qualifications made many delight to sit under his ministry, and seek opportunities for that purpose, yet he affected not popularity; but frequently gave way to others, perhaps less desired, chusing rather to remain unnoticed, than to appear to gratify or please the itching ear; being careful deeply to attend to the motion of truth in his own mind, before he entered upon his labours in the ministry.

He had a high esteem for the good order established in the religious society of which he was a member, often expressing his sentiment, “ That he believed their constitution respecting discipline, was preferable to any other now subsisting in the world,” and was diligent not only in attending meetings of worship, but those for discipline also, wherein he discovered himself to be a member well qualified for service, and skilful in managing matters of discipline; being a man of clear conception, understanding, penetration and expression; his sentiments generally carried conviction with them, whereby great regard was paid to his judgment, not only

C H A P.
VI.
1740.

CHAP. VI.
1740.

only in the monthly and quarterly meetings to which he belonged; but the general assembly of his brethren in the yearly meeting at London. He was no less conspicuous for his capacity and judgment in civil affairs, wherein he was capable and ready to serve both those of his own society, and other members of the commonwealth, many of whom received benefits from his services, which procured him the general love and esteem of people of all ranks, even the great men of this world; yet he was preserved from exaltation in prosperity, and cautiously avoided opportunities of applause, which frequently offered.

His life and conversation adorned the doctrine of the gospel, which he was concerned to publish to the world; being a pattern of sobriety, chastity, moderation, temperance and other christian virtues. In his family, an affectionate husband, an indulgent and tender father, and a kind master. In religious society, a faithful overseer, a wise counsellor and a steady friend. Among his neighbours and countrymen of all denominations, an useful assistant on many occasions, by free and candid advice, which as application was made to him, he generously communicated.

In the latter part of his time, he was afflicted with great pain, being for some years grievously affected with the stone and gravel, which very much weakened his constitution; yet his soul seemed supported with christian fortitude, in patience and resignation to the divine will. And although his long indisposition prevented his travelling much abroad, to visit the churches in the different parts of his native country,

country, as he had formerly done, to the edification of his friends, yet he frequently attended the religious assemblies of his brethren at home, amongst whom in his state of bodily weakness, he was often engaged in a living and efficacious ministry, whereby many were powerfully reached, and affected with lasting impressions of religious thoughtfulness in their minds.

These painful distempers grew upon him, 'till they terminated his existence in this life, the 19th of 11th month, 1740; and as he had engaged the general esteem of his friends and fellow-citizens, they manifested their respect to his memory by a very numerous attendance of his body to the grave: a solemn meeting was held to edification, wherein the solidity of the large assembly testified the universal regret for his removal.

Benjamin Bangs, of Stockport, in Cheshire, was a minister of eminence in his day, of whom, however, for want of information and materials, I cannot be so particular in my relation, as his services at home and abroad for more than sixty years, might seem to demand; and therefore must restrict myself to the following testimony to his qualifications and services, by his friends of the quarterly meeting to which he belonged.

He was born in the parish of Longham, in the county of Norfolk, the 1st of 10th month, 1652, and was religiously educated in the principles of the church of England. The Lord was pleased in his young and tender years to extend a merciful visitation of love to him, with which he was at times deeply affected; and about the 19th year of his age, being then settled in London,

1741.
Account of
Benjamin
Bangs.

C H A P. don, was convinced of the blessed truth; and
VI. shortly after he came forth in a public testimony,
1741. and became an able minister of the gospel of Christ: in which he laboured faithfully and fervently, in divers parts of this nation and the kingdom of Ireland*, and was instrumental in the convincement of many.

In the year 1683, he married Mary Lowe, of the county of Cheshire, and settled in that county. After which he visited many parts of the nation and the Principality of Wales; and till age and infirmities prevailed, continued to visit his friends in the adjacent counties, where his services were always acceptable.

He was an elder worthy of double honour, having obtained a good report; not of men seeking glory, nor as a lord over God's heritage, but an example to the flock. In doctrine, sound, clear and instructive; his openings were fresh and lively, and his manner of expression truly amiable. He delighted much to wait in silence for the discoveries of the word of life, whereby he became strong in the Lord and in the power of his might, sounding forth the word of reconciliation by Christ our Lord, and salvation thro' his eternal spirit.

He was often fervent in supplication, and drawn forth in a sweet and heavenly manner, to the great joy and gladness of the sincere in heart. He was signally qualified in meetings of discipline, to speak a word in season for the promotion of peace and good order in the church.

He was remarkably compassionate to the poor, in whom he observed a degree of sincerity and

and worthiness, such were sure to meet with an advocate in him.

His countenance was awful, his deportment grave, but intermixed with a pleasant and familiar manner of expression, that rendered his company truly pleasing to those he conversed with, and when old age and infirmities attended, his understanding was clear, and many sweet and heavenly expressions dropt from him. He often said, "That his work was finished, and he was freely resigned; feeling nothing on his spirit but peace from the Lord." When near his end, he could not forbear rejoicing in the blessed experience of that peace, saying, "Now I know and witness the saying of our blessed Lord fulfilled, *He that believeth on me, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water.*" He died the 6th of 12 month, 1741, in the 90th year of his age; a minister about 65 years.

In this year also, James Dickenson, of Green-trees, in Cumberland, a very serviceable, valuable and faithful minister of the society of the people called Quakers, (sundry of whose travels and services have been noticed in this work) departed this life. He was born at Lowmoor, in the county of Cumberland, in the year 1659, of honest parents, professing the truth, as held by this people. The Lord was pleased tenderly to visit him, when very young; but for want of keeping a steady eye to his guidance, he was led forth into those vanities and follies of the world incident to youth; but such was the love of the heavenly Father that he was met with again and again, and brought back, as a sheep strayed from the Father's fold; and after much affliction and solitary exercise, fitted for future service, and engaged

Account of
James
Dickenson.

CHAP. engaged in a public testimony to that truth, the
VI. efficacy whereof he had experienced, about the
1741. eighteenth year of his age.

He was shortly after concerned to go to several meetings of the Dissenters, in the county where he lived, amongst whom he met with much ill treatment; yet truth crowned his labours with the convincement of several.

After which he travelled through divers counties in England, in the work of the ministry, in which he zealously laboured for the promotion of piety and virtue, so that it often proved effectual to reach the witness of God in the conscience of those to whom he ministred; for it may be truly said of him, that he went not about to publish the gospel of life and salvation with the enticing words of man's wisdom, but in the power and demonstration of the spirit of truth. Many sufferings did he undergo in his early travels, in the times of persecution, which he bore with christian fortitude and resignation; looking not unto man for his reward, but to that great and good master who had sent him to work in his vineyard.

He visited Ireland twelve times; once he paid a visit to his friends in Hollaud and Germany; and three times went over to America, in all which places he diligently laboured for the promotion of truth and righteousness, and in many places was instrumental to the convincement of several. And although he travelled much and often hard, yet as soon as his service was over, and his spirit eased of the concern which was upon him, he was diligent to return to his outward habitation and business, that he might not only be a good example to others herein,
but

but might also mind his service among friends C H A P.
at home. VI.

He was a man much esteemed in his own country; friends there highly valued him for his faithfulness in the performance of the Lord's work; and his humble deportment, circumspect life and godly conversation, gained him a good report among his neighbours and those with whom he conversed.

He frequently attended the yearly meeting in London, where he sometimes spoke concerning the affairs of the society, much to the satisfaction of friends; yet he was not so peculiarly gifted for the management of the discipline of the church, as some others in his time, who were not so eminent in the ministry; whereby the great wisdom of the Almighty is plainly seen; for he fits and qualifies his faithful servants by his own power and holy spirit for that work and service in the church to which he sees meet to appoint them.

He was a diligent labourer at home, a constant attender of meetings, a sincere travailer therein, very tender over the youth, a nursing father to the weak, and full of charity to all; yet not hasty to join with forward spirits. He was very careful to keep clear of party causes, and anxiously concerned to promote peace in the church; and often expressed his steadfast faith that the testimony of truth would be exalted in the nations, and the antichristian oppression of tithes brought down; and with concern declared his sorrow for such as weakly complied therewith.

When his natural abilities failed, he would speak with strength apparently beyond his age

C H A P.

VI.

1742.

But William Penn being now returned to Pennsylvania, with a view of settling there, and finding the affairs of his province, which he had left in a peaceful and prosperous state, during his long absence, fallen into embarrassment and disorder; and having a particular regard for Thomas Story, as an intimate friend, and a favourable opinion of his abilities, he importuned him to take up his residence in Philadelphia for a season, to afford his assistance in settling the affairs of the province and reducing them into order.

Upon due deliberation Thomas consented to stay so long as he might see it his place. Whereupon he was appointed one of the governor's council, keeper of the seal, master of the rolls, and one of his commissioners of property, for enquiring into and confirming old rights, and granting lands upon new purchases. Moreover when a new charter was afterward granted to Philadelphia, erecting it into a city and corporation, he was appointed to the office of recorder; but he held this office only till the corporation was regularly settled and habituated to business, when he resigned.

But in these different secular functions, in which he was engaged, both his honourable friend and himself had a due regard to calls of an higher nature. For by his patent he was allowed deputies in each office, whenever his apprehension of duty might engage him to travel abroad in the work of the ministry; he thereby was enabled to fill up his respective duties with fidelity, and to divide his time here between his secular and spiritual calling for the space of 14 years

years, viz. from the year 1699 to 1714, when c h a p.
he returned to England. v1.

During his residence in America, he paid frequent religious visits to his friends in different parts of the continent, and in 1709, to the West Indian Islands, when in his passage from Jamaica to Philadelphia, the vessel he was in was taken by a French privateer and carried into Martinico, where he and the ship's company (except in losing their goods and clothes) were kindly and hospitably treated. After some stay there, they got a passage to Guadaloupe, and from thence in a flag of truce to Antigua. In 1714, he passed again to Barbadoes, and from thence returned to England, where he continued his gospel labours, in a successive course of travelling in the various quarters of the British islands, and being a man of eminent qualifications, and those sanctified, his ministry was very convincing and edifying, so that he was acknowledged, not only by the society of which he was a member, but by other people, as a truly evangelical minister.

His last journey was in 1740, from his own residence at Justice-town to London, where he continued several months, and during his stay there he was seized with a paralytick disorder, which affected him to such a degree, as deprived him very much of his speech, and confined him within doors till the return of the spring; when he regained a little strength, and got out to meetings; but was still not so far recovered as to be able to hold a discourse long, his memory being also much impaired by the said disorder. Nevertheless he continued sweet in spirit, and pleasant and cheerful among his friends,

whom

C H A P. whom he was always glad to see, and be in company with. He likewise diligently attended the yearly meeting at London, 1741, though he spoke not much in it. Before the end of summer he grew so much better, that he travelled down to Carlisle, to look after his affairs in the north, which required his attendance; for having a design to build an house at Justice-town, he provided materials, and frequently overlooked the workmen; and indeed his health and faculties were so well restored, as that he many times appeared in public in the meetings, greatly to the satisfaction of friends. Thus he continued without much alteration, till the 23d of 4th month, 1742, being the first day of the week; when in the evening, he suffered a new attack of his distemper, which seized him with great violence; and the next morning between two and three o'clock, he departed this life, in perfect peace (we have reason to believe) with God and mankind. His funeral at Carlisle was attended by a great number of friends from several parts of the country, and also by divers people in the neighbourhood, who seemed deeply affected with the loss of a man, so valuable and useful to his country in several stations of life.

1744. John Fothergill, of Carrend in Wensleydale, Aecount of John Fothergill. but formerly of Knaresborough in Yorkshire, was the son of religious parents, who carefully educated him in sobriety, simplicity and virtue, according to the principles of the people called Quakers. But in the early part of life, being illuminated by the grace and truth that comes by Jesus Christ, he perceived that neither tradition, outward regularity of life, nor any thing

thing short of real internal purification of soul would render him acceptable in the sight of the Lord, or secure his everlasting well-being; he was incited therefore, with an entire dedication of heart steadily to pursue this arduous attainment, and through the repeated baptisms of the Holy Ghost, and the washing of regeneration, he gradually experienced, what he was in pursuit of, a being made clean thereby; and under this preparing operation of divine grace, a sense attending his mind that he would be called to the work of the ministry, he was very careful to wait the appointed time. For although he was favoured with the opening of the scriptures to his understanding, in sundry parts, and at sundry times, in the religious meetings of his friends, he cautiously abstained from the publication thereof, till the time came, when it was indeed required of him to make a public declaration of what was spoken in his spiritual ear, and when the word appeared with such clearness, as to leave no shadow of doubt, that it was a divine requiring, like the apostle, he reasoned not with flesh and blood, but gave up to the heavenly vision.

He was called to the ministry about the 20th year of his age, and by a daily deep and inward dwelling with the word of divine life in his own heart, he soon became a strong man in Christ, and a skilful and able minister of the gospel; well instructed in the mystery of godliness, and in the light to discover the mysterious workings of antichrist in opposition thereto, he was well qualified, out of the treasures of his own experience to administer consolation, counsel or caution, suitably adapted to the different states of his auditory.

Being

C H A P.

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1744.

Being strongly impressed with an awful humbling sense of the majesty and omnipresence of the divine being, in the exercise of his ministry he was very awful and weighty, not endeavouring to please the itching ears, or gratify the high notions of airy speculation by the wisdom of words, but actuated by higher and purer motives, as considering himself under the notice of that eye, which penetrates unto the innermost recesses of the heart, and observes the most secret motions thereof, he durst not handle the word deceitfully; but patiently waited, renewedly to receive power from on high, and under the influence and divine authority thereof, to divide the word aright, reaching the divine witness in the hearts of those he ministered unto, to the convincement, confirmation and edification of many at home and abroad.

For the support of the discipline established in the society, his talents were equally conspicuous, being replenished with the wisdom, which is from above, which is without partiality, he was stedfast, upright and discreet in the administration thereof; quick of apprehension, and of a capacious reach of thought, he expressed his sense and judgment on cases under deliberation with pertinence, convincing clearness and impartiality. No family connection (not even his own) biassed him in applying righteousness to the line, and judgment to the plumb-line, for removing offences out of the church, or recovering backsliders in the way of truth. The stability of his own conduct, and his inflexible integrity gave him authority, and that authority he invariably applied to the dis-

couragement

couragement of evil doing, and the praise and encouragement of those that did well.

C H A P.
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1744.

He was brought up in the occupation of an husbandman, and I suppose his education as to school learning was confined to what appeared necessary in that department; but his deficiency in literature was amply compensated by the soundnes of his understanding improved and refined by pure religion, which replenisheth the man with a dignity and consistency of conduct, a wisdom to act well in every station of life, surpassing the wisdom of this world. At home he was skilfully, laboriouly and successfully employed in his occupation of agriculture for the necessary support of himself and his family, yet not entangled therewith; for when the sene of duty called him to leave his outward habitation and secular affairs, to devote his time and talents to the exercise of his ministerial labours, for the edification of the churches abroad, he with all readiness yielded obedience to the superior calling; and in this case manifested that wisdom, for which he was distinguished in every circumstance of this life, always to leave his outward affairs in reputable order, and his children (after he was a widower) in safe hands, during his absence; and he was very diligent in travelling with as much expedition as a clear sene of duty would allow, that he might not make the gospel chargeable; and when his service was finished, to return to his family and outward occupation with as little delay as possible.

He took frequent journies into sundry parts of England, Scotland and Wales, in religious visits to his friends. He visited Ireland several times, and thrice he crossed the sea to America in

CHAP. VI.
1744.

in the same service, to the comfort and edification of the churches, leaving seals to the efficacy of his ministry in many places, being instrumental to the convincing, strengthening and establishing of many in religious experience, and furtherance in the way of righteousness and peace. He also wrote sundry edifying epistles to his friends, amongst whom he had laboured in various parts as truth opened his way, and excited his sympathetic concern for their prosperity and preservation in sincerity and godly simplicity, replete with important and pertinent counsel and admonition, for the like beneficial purposes.

As advancing age brought on painful indisposition and infirmities symptomatic of his body's tending to its decline; the natural and spiritual abilities of his better part, his zeal for God, and love to the brethren were still graciously preserved to him unimpaired. Under great bodily afflictions he continued his religious visits to several places in England, as well as his last visit to Ireland, which he performed in the year 1742, about two years before his death; a part of his service which I had the benefit to partake of (as well as formerly in my native country) and can join my suffrage to the justice of the preceding account of him, extracted from the testimonies of his friends, to whom he was more intimately known, as I have had frequently during my pilgrimage through life, as well as at this time, profitably brought to my remembrance, how; not only in the efficacious reach of his public ministry, but particularly in his private conversation among his friends, at some opportunities at which I had the advantage of being

being present, the weightiness of his spirit, the c h a p.
unaffected gravity of his demeanour, the wisdom
of his reflections, his words few and savory,
seasoned with grace, made good and deep im-
pressions with lasting effect upon my youthful
mind.

VI.

1744.

Under the encreasing infirmities of age in the year 1744, the last year of his life, he attended the yearly meeting at London, and, although under difficulty through weaknes of body, yet his spirit was still so actuated by lively zeal for the propagating of righteousness and good order in the society at large, and strengthened by divine suppor, that he was enabled to attend the fittings of that large meeting, where his reverent and watchful frame of mind rendered his company truly acceptable and serviceable. On his return he attended the midsummer quarterly meeting at York, and soon after in a letter to a friend mentioning his bodily weaknes, he adds,

“ Yet, I think, my better part is uncommonly supplied in divers respects, much to my comfort and the reviving of my faith in the heavenly influence, which is strength in weakness, and will be so, where his only worthy name hath the praise.”

After this in the latter part of the said year, he attended the circular yearly meeting at Worcester, where through divine influence, still eminently attending him, and reviving the recollection of past experiences, he was strengthened to bear a noble and affeeling testimony to the all-sufficiency of that power, which had preserved, supported and guided him in the way that was right and well pleasing, all his life long to that day, and is equally able to do the same for all

CHAP. all the children of men, who are faithful and
VI. obedient to the inward manifestations thereof.

1744. After the termination of this meeting he visited Bristol, Bath and some other places, and then returned home by easy journeys, having meetings as opportunities offered. After his return he got to meetings for some weeks, when his testimony was as lively and powerful as ever; several times expressing his satisfaction and inward peace in having performed this last journey, saying, "His shoulders were considerably lightened by it, and he was reconciled to his grave, if he should now be taken away."

By an exemplary and circumspect conduct in a private and public capacity, he confirmed and adorned his ministry, being a lively example of primitive purity, moderation and simplicity of manners, and uniform virtue in every relation and station of life, as became a minister of Christ. This consistency of conduct procured him not only a place in the respectful affection of his friends, but amongst people of every class; several of superior rank, who were acquainted with his virtues, regarded him with honourable esteem.

Delighting in the law of the Lord, to meditate therein, day and night, he was often favoured with access to the fountain of wisdom and light, and his spirit sustained to worship in secret, when his hand was upon his labour. Out of the good treasure of his heart at all suitable opportunities, he was influenced to bring forth good things, whereby the minds of those, with whom he conversed, were many times edified. More especially for the instruction of his own family in the right way of the Lord, he was engaged

gaged frequently to talk of his law and his sta- C H A P.
tutes, as he sat in his house, or walked with VI.
them by the way; and his religious care to form
their tender minds to piety and virtue, through
the divine blessing, was not ineffectual with fe-
veral of them, to manifest the good fruits there-
of, in a stayed sober and religious disposition in
the early and succeeding part of life; and where
through temptation and the instability of youth,
any of them caused him painful sensations by a
temporary deviation from the path of purity and
rectitude, he had the consolation in time, to see
their return and reformation, and the greatest
joy in beholding his children walking in the
truth. And though we have observed, he him-
self had not the advantage of an extensive educa-
tion, yet his good sense convincing him of the
benefit thereof in its proper place, induced him
to give his sons a more liberal institution in learn-
ing, by which, added to his own religious tu-
ition, through the grace of God, to which he re-
commended them, co-operating therewith, they
became men in reputation for wisdom and ho-
nour in their respective allotments; eminent for
their abilities and service in religious and civil
society.

After his return from his last journey to the yearly meeting at Worcester, &c. his increasing infirmities gradually brought on the dissolution of his body. Preceding which he had an even-
ing of repose from bodily or mental labour, sleeping the two last weeks of his life almost continually, his memory and natural capacity apparently impaired, seemed to have left him little recollection or sensation, but that of divine fa-
vour and comfort; for when almost all other
expressions

C H A P. expressions failed, he was observed to repeat
 VI. the following in a very fervent and emphatical
 1744. manner, “Heavenly goodness is near: heavenly
 goodness is near.” So that under the feeling
 sense of that heavenly goodness, which he had
 ever prized as his chiefest joy, remaining as a
 seal upon his spirit of his acceptance with God, he
 finished his course in this life at Knaresborough,
 (where he had fixed his residence the last eight
 years) the 13th of 11th month, 1744, in the
 70th year of his age.

C H A P. VII.

The young Pretender lands in Scotland—The Rebellion quelled.—The People called Quakers address the King upon the Extinction thereof.—who receives their Address favourably.—Case of Thomas Richardson and Benjamin Cox.—Case of Hannah Risdale.—Account of Evan Bevan.—Samuel Crisp.

C H A P. **E**NGLAND having been engaged in a
 VII. war with Spain since the year 1739, and France
 1743. having also taken part with Spain, and declared
 The young pretender war against England; in 1743, the eldest son of
 lands in Scotland. the Pretender, encouraged by the enemies, and
 flattered with hopes of being powerfully assisted
 by the adherents of his family, and of a favourable

able opportunity of asserting his father's claim C H A P. VII.
to the British throne, while the government was
embarrassed with a heavy and expensive war,
and the people (as he was made to believe) generally discontented at the load of taxes with
which they were burdened, landed in Scotland ;
when being joined by several clans of Highlanders, and having defeated a body of the king's forces at Preston-pans near Edinburgh, he made
an inroad into the heart of England, whereby
the rebellion became formidable. But the
young Pretender found himself greatly disappointed in the expectation with which he had
been flattered, both of foreign aid and the addition of strength expected from the malecontents in England ; and the king's forces under the duke of Cumberland approaching to give him battle, he thought it safest to make a speedy retreat back to Scotland, where in the month called April of the succeeding year he was totally defeated by the duke, and an end put to the rebellion. 1743.

Which having succeeded so far as to occasion a general alarm in England, the event productive of great and general joy, brought many addresses of congratulation to the king. The people called Quakers from their yearly meeting in the third month, O. S. called May, also drew up an address on this occasion and to present at such time as the king might appoint to receive it.

And in pursuance of this appointment the friends deputed, on the 28th of 3d month attended the court at Kensington, and were introduced to the king by the duke of St. Albans, when

The people
called
Quakers
address the
king upon
the extinc-
tion of the
rebellion.

CHAP. when Daniel Vandewali read the address, as
VII. follows.

1745.

To George II. King of Great Britain, &c.

The humble Address of the People called
Quakers from their general annual Assembly
in London.

“ May it please the King,

“ We humbly beg leave to approach thy
“ royal presence with united hearts to congra-
“ tulate thee upon the deliverance of these
“ kingdoms, from the late impending dangers,
“ with a joy as sincere as the occasion is
“ signal.

“ We beheld with grief and detestation an
“ ungrateful and deluded people combined
“ against their own happiness, and desperately
“ engaged in open rebellion against thy person
“ and government, wickedly attempting to sub-
“ ject a free people to the miseries of a popish
“ and arbitrary power.

“ As none among all thy Protestant subjects
“ exceed us in an aversion to the tyranny, idola-
“ try and superstition of the church of Rōme, so
“ none lie under more just apprehensions of im-
“ mediate danger from their destructive conse-
“ quences, or have greater cause to be thankful
“ to the Almighty for the interposition of his
“ providence in our preservation.

“ A preservation so remarkable makes it our
“ indispensable duty also to acknowledge the
“ king’s paternal care for the safety of his
“ people, of which he hath given the most af-

“ fured

“ sured pledge, in permitting one of his royal c H A P.
 “ offspring to expose himself to the greatest of
 “ dangers for their security.

VII.

1746.

“ May we and all thy faithful subjects de-
 “ monstrate our gratitude for this signal instance
 “ of divine favour, by the deepest humiliation,
 “ and by turning every one from the evil of our
 “ ways: and may those, who are placed in au-
 “ thority over us, by the influence of their own
 “ example, add vigour to the laws enacted for
 “ the general suppression of vice and immora-
 “ lity; so may we have an assured ground of
 “ hope and confidence in God, that he who
 “ hath hitherto helped, will never withdraw
 “ his mercies from us.”

“ We earnestly beseech him by whom kings
 “ reign and princes decree justice, that his pro-
 “ vidence may ever attend thy royal person and
 “ family, and make even the efforts of thine
 “ enemies conducive to the establishment of thy
 “ throne in perfect peace; give success to thy
 “ endeavours for settling the general tranquillity
 “ of Europe on a lasting foundation, and grant,
 “ that an uninterrupted race of kings of thy
 “ royal progeny, may perpetuate the blessings of
 “ thy reign to our posterity.”

Dated in London, the 22d of the 3d month
 called May, 1746, and signed by 286
 friends.

Which address the king was pleased to re-
 ceive very graciously; and to which the follow-
 ing answer was returned.

“ I thank you for this address of congratula-
 “ tion, the just concern you have shewn there-
 VOL. IV. Z “ in

CHAP. " in for me and my family is very agreeable to
 VII. " me; and you may always depend on my pro-
 1746. " tection.'

After withdrawing from the king's presence, the duke of Grafton came out, and told one of the committee, that the king expressed himself very kindly respecting the address, and said, that he had not received any one which had given him so much real satisfaction; and the duke said, they might acquaint their friends thereof.

Cases of
Thomas
Richard-
son and
Benjamin
Cox.

Some few of the clergy and other claimants of tithes and ecclesiastical demands continued to be vexatious, in needlessly applying to expensive methods of prosecution; of which we find two instances this year, in the cases of Thomas Richardson and Benjamin Cox, in which the prosecutors put themselves to needless expense, without gaining any advantage.

The former, an inhabitant of Spittle-fields, was prosecuted for non-payment of 6s. for six years small tithes, at the suit of Robert Leybourn and John Brookband, filed rectors and portionists of the united rectory of Stepney; but the defendant being admitted to answer *in forma pauperis*, heard nothing further of the prosecution.

The latter, who resided at Mumby in Lincolnshire, was served with a writ from the court of Common Pleas, at the suit of Thomas Williamson, tithe-farmer, for six or seven years tithe, demanded at about 20s. per annum. He had formerly taken the tithes in kind, but having taken some offence at B. Cox, though in no wise intended by him, he commenced this prosecution.

Application

Application was early made to the bishop of Lincoln, who generously expressed his dislike of any thing that looked like persecution, and readily promised to write to the prosecutor, which had the desired effect. Williamson dropt the prosecution, and gave the said B. Cox no further trouble that way.

We meet an occurrence which happened in the last year, of which we have few or no other instances in the present century, although very common in the beginning of this society. A case of young woman named Hannah Risdale, servant to John Langley, of Waltham near Grimsby, in Lincolnshire, having for a considerable time been under an apprehension of duty to go to the Steeple-house there, and speak to the people what might be required of her, went accordingly on the 25th of the 10th month, 1745, accompanied by her mistress and some other friends, and waited till the priest (Christopher Jackson) had finished his sermon: when the congregation was beginning to separate, she stood up, and (according to her own relation) said,

“ Neighbours, I am sent with a message from the high priest of our profession to desire you to turn the eyes of your mind inward and examine yourselves, and to come to true repentance and amendment of life.” She also spoke to the priest, “ That he must come down from his high and exalted place, and bow at the footstool of Christ, before he could teach any people the way to the kingdom of heaven;” or to the like effect.

The priest exasperated at this declaration, called to the church-warden to put her out of the place, which he not being forward to do, the

CHAP. VII. priest in great anger violently thrust her out of the door himself. But this rude treatment was not sufficient to gratify his resentment; for having (what is termed) the sacrament to administer, he alledged, that the worship was not over, and soon after caused her to appear before a justice of peace, who took her master's word for her appearance at the next Quarter Sessions, where she accordingly appeared, the Sessions being held at Caister for the county aforesaid in the 2d month, 1746, and was there indicted for a misdemeanor, in disturbing the priest during divine service, and convicted on the Toleration-Act, fined 20/. for the king's use, and committed to prison in the castle of Lincoln, till the fine should be paid.

Summum jus, summa injuria. Upon perusing the clause of the Toleration Act, upon which she was convicted, it appears to me stretched to the utmost to comprise any offence she was guilty of. The words of the act are, " If any person or persons, shall willingly and of purpose, maliciously or contemptuously come into any cathedral or parish-church, chapel or other congregation permitted by this act, and disquiet and disturb the same, or misuse any preacher or teacher, such persons or persons, upon conviction at the general or Quarter Sessions, shall suffer the pain or penalty of 20/. to the use of the king or queen; their heirs and successors."

If the priest had not been more actuated by a spirit of blamable resentment and persecution (as far as in his power) than the poor woman was by any design of disturbance, this prosecution had never been commenced, much less carried

ried on to the utmost stretch of the law, of c H A P. VII.
which it is still questionable, whether her action was a breach. She did not disquiet the congregation, nor disturb the priest, till the congregation broke up, and the service, as far as she knew, was ended: and though advantage was taken of a circumstance, most probably, unknown to her, her ignorance thereof exempts her from the charge of acting maliciously or contemptuously, which by the act appears to constitute such intervention criminal; so that all circumstances considered, there wanted only a little christian charity and moderation to exempt her from the penalty.

Her friends, sympathizing with her sufferings, and commiserating her severe treatment, exerted their endeavours with the justices, and other persons of influence in that county for some months after her commitment to get the fine remitted or at least mitigated, that being yet in their power, as it was not esreated or returned into the Exchequer. But, although most of them seemed inclined to favour her, and gave expectations of joining their good offices for that purpose, at the two next succeeding Quarter Sessions; yet the priest so far prevailed upon some then on the bench, as to render the friendly interposition for her relief ineffectual.

The fine was in course esreated into the Exchequer. The only remedy therefore remaining was to apply by petition to the lords of the Treasury for her liberty. A petition was accordingly drawn up in the name of the prisoner, setting forth the matter of fact, and consequent proceedings thereupon, and further alledged, "that she had no intention of disturbing the public

C H A P. " public worship; but acted on a motive purely conscientious, being ignorant of the breach
VII. " ly conscientious, being ignorant of the breach
1746. " of any law therein—that she had always behaved herself peaceably and honestly, (in confirmation whereof, she referred to an affidavit of two of her neighbours annexed)
" and that by a long confinement, she who was only a poor servant-maid, had almost expended her substance in her necessary support.

" She therefore hopes they will commiserate her case, and remit the said fine, and that she may be discharged from her confinement, that she may be enabled to provide for her subsistence, by her labour as formerly."

This petition produced the desired effect: for by an order of the board of the Treasury to the attorney-general, after going through the usual forms of law, a writ was issued by the barons of the Exchequer in the king's name, directed to the sheriffs and jailer of Lincoln, whereby she obtained her liberty after an imprisonment of more than thirteen months.

Account of Evan Bevan. In this year, Evan Bevan of Pontimoyle in Monmouthshire, departed this life. He was the son of Charles Bevan, of Lantwit Vardre in Glamorganshire, who gave him a liberal education at school, and at the university of Oxford, where he made a considerable progress in various parts of literature.

After his return from thence he applied himself to the study and practice of the law for a season in Glamorganshire, and served the office of deputy sheriff of that county with reputation; but after some time, through the convictions of divine grace, he fell under an anxious concern about his future well-being, and that godly sorrow which

which worketh repentance not to be repented C H A P.
of; of which exercise and the motives of his V. I.
joining in society with the people called Quakers,
having himself, who could do it best, given
a description in a letter to a friend, a transcript
thereof, will convey the most genuine and au-
thentic account to the reader, as follows.

‘ Since it hath pleased the divine goodness
‘ to endue me with reason, I heartily thank his
‘ most excellent Majesty: that it has been the
‘ further product of his good will, to give me
‘ life and being in that part of the world, where
‘ I have had the freedom to use it; especially
‘ in the choice of my persuasion, and way of re-
‘ turning my acknowledgments to him. I wish
‘ that all, who make any pretensions to religion,
‘ would make use of this noble faculty with
‘ subjection to the divine will, to determine
‘ their choice in this grand affair; and not
‘ let the religion of their education be that of
‘ their judgment. If people were thus truly
‘ wise unto their own salvation, and did not too
‘ lazily resign themselves to the conduct of their
‘ guides, thereby regarding more their ease than
‘ safety, they would not only be the better
‘ able to give a reason of the hope that is in
‘ them, but they would shew more warmth
‘ in their devotion, more charity in their reli-
‘ gion, and more piety in their conversation than
‘ at present they do.

‘ When I was visited some time ago by the
‘ chastising hand of the Lord for sin, and my
‘ disobedience to his holy will, I laboured un-
‘ der great affliction of mind and anguish of
‘ spirit; and though I was constant above many
‘ in my attendance on the public prayers of the
‘ church,

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1746.

church, strict in my observance of its ceremonies, and exceeding frequent in the use of private devotion, yet my burden encreased, and I waxed worse.'

' In this wretched and doleful condition I was, when at a relation's house, who had providentially returned from Pennsylvania to his native country, I lighted upon R. Barclay's apology for the Quakers; by the reading whereof I was so well perswaded of their principles, and by turning my mind inward to the divine gift, (according to their doctrine) it gave me victory, in a great measure, over our common enemy, banished away my disorderly imaginations, and restored me to my former regularity: I received such satisfaction and comfort to my distressed soul, that thereupon I left the church of England, and joined myself in society with them; and I am the more confirmed in my change, especially where it respects the worship of our Creator; because it is not only the most agreeable to the Scriptures of truth, but heaven has given us assurance of its approbation thereof, it having been at times, to my own experience, most powerfully attended with the presence of the Most High.'

' I hope none will grudge me this mercy, because I received it not by their ministry; if they do, I have cause to suspect their charity is not of a christian latitude, since our blessed Redeemer approved not of that narrowness in his disciples in somewhat a like case.'

' But here to obviate the objection some may make to my change, because of the distress I lay under, and the discomposure I was subject to

‘ to at times, I would have it remarked, that I C H A P.
‘ read the said apology beyond my expectation,
‘ with more sedateness than usual, and a more
‘ quiet composure of mind : so that with the in-
‘ fluence of the almighty, or providence, or both,
‘ I had also the benefit of that distinguishing
‘ faculty of man in the change of my opinion.
‘ O that I may never forget the Lord’s mercy
‘ to my soul, who had compassion on me when
‘ I wallowed in my blood, and who said to the
‘ dry bones, live. O that all such as are visited
‘ by the chastising hand of their Maker, would
‘ seriously lay it to heart, and consider their
‘ own welfare and salvation ; I could wish with
‘ all my heart, that such who labour under this
‘ anxiety of mind, would take encouragement
‘ to hope in the Lord’s mercy through their
‘ blessed Redeemer, by his kindness and
‘ long forbearance with me. I am a living mo-
‘ nument of it now ; and I hope I shall be so,
‘ while he affords me a being here. If these
‘ lines should come to the hands of any that
‘ are afflicted and distressed as I was, I have an
‘ effectual remedy, through mercy, to prescribe
‘ unto them; turn your mind inward to the
‘ grace of God in your own hearts, refrain from
‘ your own imaginations, be still, and quietly
‘ resign yourselves to his holy will, so you shall
‘ find health to your souls, refreshment to your
‘ spirits, and the sweet consolation of the Lord
‘ in your own bosoms ; you shall find your
‘ mourning turned to gladness, and your hea-
‘ viness to joy ; this has been my experience of
‘ the goodness of the holy one of Israel, who
‘ abhors sin and iniquity ; therefore I recom-
‘ mend it to you, and I think this is no mistrust-
‘ ing

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C H A P T E R VII. 1746 ‘ ing of the cause, for they are the sick and wounded in spirit, not the whole, that need the Physician.

‘ As for renouncing the covenant, which I and every christian ought to be under, of forsaking the devil and all his works, I am so far from entertaining one thought of neglecting that duty, that I think myself wholly obliged to observe it: and if I should affirm, that through the grace of God, and his assistance, (for otherwise I am satisfied I cannot do it,) the observation of it is possible, I can find no reason why it should be false doctrine in a Quaker, more than in a Churchman.

‘ As for deserting that church and ministry which the Son of God came down from heaven to establish, I am not conscious to myself thereof; for I say, Christ himself is the head of our Church, and by his spirit and grace the ordainer of our ministry.

‘ And as to the last query my ingenious acquaintance is pleased to propose, I do let him know, that my former despair and forlorn condition has been, since my adhering to that reprobated people, changed into a sweet enjoyment of the goodness of God. I could not conceal the Lord’s goodness, least he should withdraw his mercies from me.

‘ I had no secular interest to corrupt me in this change, it is apparent to many, I declined it; but as it was peace with God my maker, and mercy to my soul I wanted; so having found the pearl of great price among them, I parted with all to purchase it; or rather, I was restored to all, I mean, the enjoyment of

‘ the

' the divine goodness, and of myself, by setting ^{C H A P.}
' a due value upon it.'

This letter presents a lively picture of humility, sincerity, disinterestedness, meekness and modesty in the writer, which qualities seem the distinguishing traits in his character; for although qualified by his good sense and literary accomplishments to make a figure in life, and particularly in the society with which he thus associated himself; yet he declined rather than courted popularity, seeking in a retired life, to attain the favour of heaven, by growing in grace, in the saving knowledge of God, and in the acquisition of pure virtue and solid peace of mind, more than to win human applause by a display of his abilities natural or acquired. He appeared at times as a minister, mostly, I apprehend, among his friends in the place of his residence, or the neighbourhood thereof, as he found his mind opened and enlarged in love to his brethren, for the last twenty years of his life, whereby they were often edified and profitably affected, and that not only by his lively ministry, but by the awful, weighty frame of his spirit manifest in the solid gravity of his countenance, as he sat in religious meetings, feeding on the bread of life. And when from the fulness of his heart, his mouth was opened to minister, his words were few and savoury, seasoned with grace, to the affecting the hearts of the well-minded, but to the disappointment of such, as knowing him, expected to hear the eloquent orator in lengthened discourses, delivered in elegance of expression; for abiding under the power of the cross of Christ, as in his general conduct, so particularly in the exercise

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CHAP. VII. cise of his ministry, his aim was still of a higher nature, than to catch the admiration of men; the unity of the brethren in the bond of peace, the edifying them in love, and the approbation of his Maker for the discharge of his duty in sincerity and godly simplicity, were the important ends he had in view; imitating the self-denying example of the apostle, which he thus describes.

1746. 1. Cor. ii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *I came not with excellency of speech, or of wisdom, declaring unto you the testimony of God; for I determined not to know any thing among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified. And my speech and my preaching was not with the enticing words of man's wisdom, but in the demonstration of the spirit and of power. That your faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God.*

After his joining this society he employed himself in the education of youth, having kept a school for about thirty-five years in their meeting-house at Pontimoyle, where he instructed his pupils in the useful parts of literature, as latin, greek and geography, with various branches of the mathematics; yet their institution in virtue, by endeavouring to preserve them in innocence, and fixing religious impressions upon their minds, appears to have been the principal object in his view; for which purpose he conscientiously declined instructing them in the heathen authors, for fear of depraving their taste for the pure principles of christianity; and mostly in the evening of the day he held a religious opportunity with his family and the scholars who boarded with him, to wait in silence upon the Lord, to initiate them into serious

ous meditation in retiredness of mind, and (as C H A P.
he felt his way open) to influence them to their
^{VII.} moral and religious duties, particularly this of
waiting in silence; laying before them the be-
nefit thence arising, for seasoning their tender
minds with profitable considerations, and
strengthening them to draw near their heaven-
ly Father, not with the mouth or the lip, but
with the prevailing language of the heart, awak-
ened to a feeling sense of what it stands in
need of.

Thus he seems to have confined his service
and his acquaintance pretty much to the place
of his residence, and however little known in
other parts, yet here, where he was known,
he was esteemed and affectionately regarded for
his private virtues, and public services; the
meeting to which he belonged having borne tes-
timony thereto, that, "His memory is dear to
"us, and being dead he yet speaketh." He
officiated as clerk to the monthly meeting for
the greatest part of the time he lived there, and
of consequence was much concerned in manag-
ing the discipline of the society; in which en-
gagement his meekness and patience were con-
spicuous, in his forbearance towards such as by
their unguarded conduct, had justly deserved the
censure of the church; and his mild manner of
treating with them has reached some, and re-
claimed them to a sense of their deviations; his
humility in seeking no pre-eminence by the su-
periority of his talents spiritual or natural, but
condescending to the weakest in charity and
pure love; plainly demonstrating whose disciple
he was. Regarded by his friends as an elder
and pillar in the church, worthy of double ho-
nour,

C H A P. VII. nour, exercising the oversight thereof, not as a lord over the heritage; but as an example to the flock.

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His circumspect conduct was truly exemplary, corresponding with his doctrine, and the principles which he professed. In his conversation he was affable and engaging, instructive and edifying. So having passed his life here in pure self-denial, in prospect of the recompence of reward in the life to come, he finished his course in this world in peace, the 17th of 2d month, 1746, about the 68th year of his age, and was interred in friend's burying ground at Pontimoyle, aforesaid, and his funeral was attended by a numerous body of most persuasions and ranks in life.

Account of
Samuel
Crisp's
convincement.

Similar to the convincement of Evan Bevan, was that of Samuel Crisp, a clergyman of the church of England, who gives the following account of his convincement, in a letter to a friend.

‘ My dear Friend,

‘ I received a letter from thee, the week before last, which was sent by thy uncle Bolton: ‘ there was a great many kind expressions in ‘ it, and in thy sister Clopton’s likewise. I acknowledge myself much obliged to you both, ‘ and to the whole family, for many repeated ‘ kindnesses, and if my school had not ingrossed ‘ so much of my time, I would have taken opportunity to answer my dear friend’s letter ‘ now, and upon that account my delay will be ‘ the more excusable.’

‘ The news thou hast heard of my late change ‘ is really true, I cannot conceal it, for it is ‘ what I glory in; neither was it any prospect ‘ of

of temporal advantage that induced me to it, C H A P.
but a sincere love to the truth, and pure re- VII.
gard to my own soul: neither can I be suffici- 1746.

ently thankful to God, that he hath let me
live to this glorious day, and not cut me off in
the midst of my sins and provocations against
him; he is long-suffering to us-ward, not wil-
ling that any should perish, but that all should
come to repentance: he hath brought me off
from the forms and shadows of religion, and let
me see in a more illustrious manner what is the
life and substance of it, as he found me in some
degree faithful to that measure of light and
knowledge he had bestowed on me, whilst I was
in the communion of the church of England;
therefore he was pleased of late, as I humbly
waited upon him, to make known to me
greater and deeper mysteries of his kingdom;
and I can truly say, that I find by daily expe-
rience, as I keep low and retired into that pure
gift which he hath planted within me, things
are every day more and more cleared up to
me, and the truth shines, and prevails greatly
over the kingdom of darkness; and if I should
now turn my back upon such manifestations as
these, and entangle myself again with the yoke
of bondage, surely I should grieve the holy
spirit, so that he might justly withdraw his
kind operations, and never return more to af-
fist and comfort me; for God is not mocked;
religion is a very serious and weighty thing;
repentance and salvation are not to be trifled
with, nor is turning to God, to be put off till
our own time, leisure, or convenience, but we
must love and cherish the least appearance of
Christ, not slighting or despising the day of
small

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‘ small things, but embrace the first opportunity of following Christ in any of his commands : ‘ When he speaks, there is such force and authority in it, that we cannot stand to cavil, dispute, or ask questions ; for unless we will be so obstinate as to shut our eyes against the sun, we must needs confess to the truth of his doctrine, and presently strike in with it ; and therefore when for several weeks I had lived more privately and retiredly in London, than was usual, fasting twice or thrice in a week, or sometimes more, spending my time in reading the Scriptures, and in prayer to God, this was a good preparation of my mind, to receive the truth which he was then about to make known to me : I lamented the errors of my past life, and was desirous to attain a more excellent degree of holiness than I had discovered in the church of England. In this religious retirement, God knew the breathings of my soul, how sincere I was, and resigned to him when alone ; I wanted him to set me free, and to speak peace and comfort to my soul, which was grieved and wearied with the burden of my sin ; for though I had strictly conformed myself to the orders and ceremonies of the church of England, and had kept myself from running into any great or scandalous enormities, the fear of the Almighty preserving me, yet still I had not that rest and satisfaction in myself which I desired, and greatly longed for ; I found when I had examined my state and condition to God-ward, that things were not right with me.

‘ As for a sober and plausible conversation in the eye of the world, I knew that was a very easy

‘ easy attainment, a good natural temper, with the advantage of a literal education, will quickly furnish a man with abilities for that, so that he shall be looked upon as a saint, and very spiritual, when perhaps in chains of darkness, in the gall of bitterness, and in the very bond of iniquity: if this sort of righteousness would have done, perhaps I might make as fair pretensions that way as some others; but alas, I quickly saw the emptiness and unsatisfactoriness of those things: this is a covering that will not protect or hide us from the wrath of the Almighty when he comes to judgment: ‘ tis not a man’s natural temper, nor his education that makes him a good christian; this is not the righteousness which the gospel calls for, nor is this the truth in the inward parts which God requires; the heart and affections must be cleansed and purified before we can be acceptable to God; therefore it was death to me to think of taking up my rest in a formal pretence of holiness, wherein yet I saw to my grief abundance of people wrapt themselves, slept securely and quietly, dreaming of the felicity of paradise, as if heaven were now their own, and they needed not trouble themselves any more about religion; I could not entertain so dangerous an opinion as this, for then I should be tempted to take up my rest by the way, whilst I was travelling towards the promised land. I think I made a little progress in a holy life, and through God’s assistance I weakened some of my spiritual enemies, whilst I lived in the communion of the national church. I thank my God, I can truly say, whilst I used those prayers, I did it

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‘ with zeal and sincerity, in his fear and dread,
‘ but still I ceased not my earnest supplication
‘ to him in private, that he would shew me
‘ something more excellent, that I might get a
‘ a more complete victory over all my lusts and
‘ passions, and might perfect righteousness before
‘ him; for I found a great many sins and weak-
‘ nesses daily attending me: and though I made
‘ frequent resolutions to forsake those sins, yet
‘ still the temptation was too strong for me, so
‘ that often I had cause to complain with the
‘ apostle in the bitterness of my soul, *O wretch-*
ed man that I am, who shall deliver me from the
body of this death! Who shall set me free, and
‘ give me strength to triumph over sin, the
‘ world and the devil, that I may in every
‘ thing please God, and there may not be
‘ the least thought, word, or motion, gesture,
‘ or action, but what is exactly agreeable
‘ to his most holy will, as if I saw him standing
‘ before me, and as if I were to be judged by
‘ him for the thought of my heart next moment.
‘ O divine life! O seraphic soul! O that I
‘ could always stand here! for here is no re-
‘ flection, no sorrow, no repentance! But at
‘ God’s right hand there is perfect peace, and a
‘ river of unspeakable joy. O that we might
‘ imitate the life of JESUS, and be thoroughly
‘ furnished unto every good word and work!
‘ This was the frequent breathing of my soul to
‘ God when I was in the country, but more espe-
‘ cially after I had left my new preferment of a
‘ chaplain, and took private lodgings in Lon-
‘ don. In this retirement I hope I may say,
‘ without boasting, that I was very devout and
‘ religious, and I found great comfort and re-
‘ freshment in it from the Lord, who let me see
‘ the

“ the beauty of holiness ; and the sweetness that c H A P .
“ arises from an humbled mortified life, was VII.
“ then very pleasant to my taste, and I rejoiced 1746.
“ in it more than in all the delights and plea-
“ sures of the world.

‘ And now it pleased God to shew me, that
‘ if I would indeed live strictly and holily as be-
‘ comes the gospel, then I must leave the com-
‘ munion of the church of England, but knew
‘ not yet which way to determine myself, nor
‘ to what body of men I should join, who were
‘ more orthodox, and more regular in their
‘ lives. As for the Quakers so called, I was so
‘ great a stranger to them, that I had never
‘ read any of their books, nor do I remember,
‘ that ever I conversed with any one man of that
‘ communion in my whole life : I think there was
‘ one in Foxley while I was curate there, but I
‘ never saw the man, though I went several
‘ times to his house on purpose to talk with
‘ him, and to bring him off from his mad and
‘ wild enthusiasm, as I then ignorantly thought
‘ it to be : as for that way, I knew it
‘ was every where spoken against ; he that had
‘ a mind to appear more witty and ingenious
‘ than the rest, would chuse this for the subject
‘ of his profane jests and drollery ; with this he
‘ makes sport, and diverts the company ; for a
‘ Quaker is but another name for a fool or a
‘ madman, and was scarce ever mentioned but
‘ with scorn and contempt. As for drollery I
‘ confess I was never any great friend to it ; but
‘ indeed if all was true that was laid to the
‘ Quakers charge, I thought that they were
‘ some of the worst people that ever appeared
‘ in the world, and wondered with what face
‘ they could call themselves christians, since I

CHAP. VII. was told they denied the fundamental articles
1746. of the holy faith, to which I ever bore the
highest veneration and esteem; and notwithstanding
standing I had always lived at the greatest
distance from that people, and was very zealous
in the worship of the church of England,
and upon all occasions would speak very honourably
of it, moreover was content to suffer some few inconveniences upon that account, (as thou very well knowest) yet my father still looked upon me as inclining to the Quakers; and some years ago signified to a friend, he was afraid I would become an enthusiast; and whilst I was at Bungan school, he sent me two books to read that were written against the Quakers, one of which was John Faldo's, who hath been sufficiently exposed for it by William Penn.

Whilst I lived in London in that private retired manner (I was just now speaking of) walking very humble in the sight of God, and having opportunity to reflect upon my past life, as I had occasion to be one day at a bookseller's shop, I happened to cast my eye on Barclay's works; and having heard in the country that he was a man of great account among the Quakers, I had a mind to see what their principles were, and what defence they could make for themselves; for sure thought I, these people are not so silly and ridiculous, nor maintainers of such horrid opinions, as the author of the Snake and some others would make us believe. I took Barclay home with me, and I read him through in a weeks time, gave a little treatise at the end, which finding to be very philosophical, I omitted; but however

‘ ever I soon read enough to convince me of c H A P.
‘ my own blindness and ignorance, in the things VII.
‘ of God ; there I found a light to break in upon
‘ my mind, which did mightily refresh and com-
‘ fort me in that poor low, and humbled state, in
‘ which I then was ; for I was then, and indeed had
‘ been for a considerable time before, very hun-
‘ gry and thirsty after righteousness, and there-
‘ fore I received the truth with all readiness of
‘ mind ; ’twas like balm to my soul, and as
‘ showers of rain to the thirsty earth, which
‘ is parched with heat and drought. This au-
‘ thor laid things down so plainly, and proved
‘ them with such ingenuity and dexterity of
‘ learning, and opened the scriptures so clearly
‘ to me, that without standing to cavil, dispute,
‘ raise argument or objection, or consulting with
‘ flesh and blood, I presently resigned myself to
‘ God, and weeping for joy that I had found so
‘ great a treasure, I often thanked him with
‘ tears in my eyes, for so kind a visitation of his
‘ love, that he was graciously pleased to look
‘ toward me when my soul cried after him ; so,
‘ though before I was in great doubt and trou-
‘ ble of mind, not knowing which way to deter-
‘ mine myself, yet now the sun breaking out so
‘ powerfully upon me, the clouds were scattered.
‘ I was now fully satisfied in my own mind
‘ which way I ought to go, and to what body of
‘ people I should join myself.

‘ So I immediately left the communion of the
‘ church of England, and went to Gracious-street
‘ meeting. After I had read Barclay, I read
‘ some other books of that kind, among which was
‘ an excellent piece, though in a small volume,
‘ called, *No cross no crown* : thus I continued
‘ reading

C H A P. VII. reading and frequenting meetings for several weeks together, but did not let any one soul know what I was about: the first man I conversed with was George Whitehead, and this was several weeks after I began to read Barclay, and frequent their meetings: by him I was introduced into more acquaintance, and still the farther I went, the more I liked their plainness, and the decency and simplicity of their conversation: They do not use the ceremonies and salutations of the church of England, but shake hands freely, and converse together as brothers and sisters, that are sprung of the same royal seed, and made kings and priests unto God. O, the love, the sweetness and tenderness of affection I have seen among this people! By this, says Christ, shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if you have love one to another: Put on therefore, says the apostle, (as elect of God holy and beloved) bowels of mercy, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering.

Thus, my dear friend, I have given thee an account of my proceeding on this affair. As to my bodily state, if thou desirest to know what it is, I may acquaint thee that I have my health, as well as ever, and I bless God I have food and raiment sufficient for me, so that I want no outward thing; and I have the necessities and conveniences of life liberally: let us not burden ourselves with taking care for the vanities and superfluities of it; let us possess our vessels in sanctification and honour; and as we bring our minds into perfect subjection to the whole will of God, so let us bring our body to the most simple and natural way of

‘ of living, being content with the fewest C H A P.
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things, never studying to gratify our wan-
ton appetites, nor to follow the customs and
humours of men, but how we may so contract
our earthly cares and pleasures, that we may
bring most glory to God, most health and
peace to our own souls, and do most service
to the truth; and if this be our aim, certainly
a very small portion of the things of this
world will suffice us: seeing we are christians,
we should therefore earnestly pursue those
things which bring us nearest to God, and
which are most perfective of human nature; for
what is more than a competency, seems to be a
burden to a generous philosophical soul, which
would breathe in a pure vehicle, that so it
may have a quick sense and relish of all
blessings, both of the superior and inferior
Worlds.

‘ Thou knowest, my dear friend, that religion
is a very serious thing, and repentance is a
great work, and one precious immortal soul,
is of more worth than ten thousand perishing
worlds, with all their pomp and glory: there-
fore let us take courage, and be valiant for the
truth upon the earth, let us not content our-
selves with a name and profession of godliness,
let us come to the life and power of it, let us
not despise of getting the victory; we have a
little strength for God; let us be faithful to
him, and he will give us more strength, so that
we shall see the enemy of our peace fall before
us, and nothing shall be impossible unto us: I
say, my friend, let us be faithful to that mea-
sure of light and knowledge which God has
given us, to be profited and edified by it in a
spiritual

CHAP. VII. spiritual life, and as God sees we are diligent and
faithful to work with the strength we have, he
will more and more enlighten us, so that we
shall see to the end of those forms and
shadows of religion wherein we have formerly
lived; but if he sees we are about to take up
our rest in those shadows, that we grow cold
and indifferent in the pursuit of holiness, run-
ning out into notions and speculations, and
have more mind to dispute, and to make
a shew of learning and subtlety, than to lead a
holy and devout life, then 'tis just with God
to leave us in a carnal and polluted state, to
continue yet but in the outward court, where
we may please ourselves with beholding the
beauty and ornaments of a worldly sanctuary,
and never witness the veil being taken away,
and that we are brought by the blood of Jesus,
into the holiest of all, where alone there is
true peace with God, and rest to the weary
soul. I could say much upon this head, if
time or leisure would give leave.

As for a particular answer to thy letter, I
have not time now to give it; and for the
present let this general answer suffice: and if
thou wilt consider things in their pure ab-
stracted nature, and not suffer the prejudice
of education to sway thee, but in fear and hu-
mility wilt search out the truth for thyself,
thou wilt find that there needs no other an-
swer to thy letter than what I have already
given; for by waiting upon God, and dili-
gently seeking him, thou will find an answer to it
in thy own bosom, and this will be much more
full, clear and satisfactory than I, or any other
man living can pretend to give thee, or any
other

‘ other friend who hath lovingly wrote to me, C H A P.
‘ for whom I desire, with all the sincere hearted VII.
‘ in the church of England, that they may 1746.
‘ come to witness the almighty power of God,
‘ to save and redeem them from every yoke;
‘ and that they may see clearly to the end of
‘ those things which are abolished, and come to
‘ the enjoyment of spiritual and heavenly
‘ things themselves, is the daily prayer and deep
‘ travel of my soul, God knoweth. ’Till I can
‘ be more particular, if thou please thou mayest
‘ communicate this to them, and let them know
‘ that I am well, and thank them for their
‘ kind letters. Let us remember to pray for
‘ one another with all fervency, that we may
‘ stand perfect in the whole will of God, Amen,
‘ faith my soul. I am thy most affectionate
‘ friend and servant in Jesus,

‘ SAMUEL CRISP.’

This epistle and the former of Evan Bevan are introduced by William Sewel as instances, among many others, that those from other societies, who have joined the people called Quakers, have been induced thereto, not by interested, but by pure conscientious motives; while those few who have left them to attach themselves to the established church, or other professions, have been generally actuated by pique, self-interest, libertinism or ambition, to indulge themselves in a latitude of conduct, which the rules of this society do not allow of, or to attain those honours or profitable employments, which are restricted to a conformity to the established religion.

C H A P.

C H A P. VIII.

Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.—The Quakers (so called) send R. Barclay's Apology to each of the Plenipotentiaries.—Letter to the Ambassadors.—Account of Benjamin Kidd.—Alteration of the Style.—Paper of Advice thereupon.—Account of John Richardson and Samuel Bownas.—Case of Daniel Hollis, who died a Prisoner.—Account of Peter Andrews and Abraham Farrington.—Death of King George II.

C H A P. **VIII.** **1748.** **T**HE war which had begun between England and Spain in 1739, still continued; and in the intermediate time, the flame had spread over several parts of the continent of Europe, but by this time, the several warring powers were heartily tired of contests which had consumed profusion of blood and treasure, and had been productive of abundance of mischief, and in the events of which, all, in their turns had found themselves disappointed, as generally happens in warlike contentions. A negotiation was therefore resolved upon, and the contending powers agreed to hold a congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, for the purpose of concluding a peace, to which all the powers at war sent their Plenipotentiaries.

Treaty of
Aix-la-
Chapelle.

The peo-
ple called
Quakers
in London,

agree to
send
R. Bar-
clay's apo-
logy to
each of the
plenipo-
tentiarie-

The people called Quakers in London (as had been done before at the treaty of Nimeguen) at the instance of Simeon Warner resolved to send some of Robert Barclay's apologies to Aix-la-

la-Chapelle, to be presented to the Plenipotentiaries of the several states assembled there for this purpose; and Jan Vander Werf of Amsterdam, being reputed to be the properst person to deliver the same, being writ to for that purpose, he consented.

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In the mean time it was thought expedient to prepare an epistle by way of introduction, as reasons for presenting the apology, which being drawn up and approved, was printed in English and Latin, and is as followeth.

To the Ambassadors of the Christian Princes and States, met to conclude a general Peace at Aix-la-Chapelle, the People called Quakers wish Health and Happiness.

‘ Near a century ago it pleased the Almighty
 ‘ to raise up a people in this kingdom, to publish among other gospel truths, the glad tidings
 ‘ proclaimed at the birth of our blessed Saviour,
 ‘ *Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace,*
 ‘ *good will to men;* and also declare to the world,
 ‘ the inconsistency of wars and fighting, with
 ‘ the example and precepts of Christ, and the
 ‘ doctrine of his followers.

‘ The almighty hath been graciously pleased
 ‘ to continue us a people to bear witness to the
 ‘ same divine truths, and to engage us in love
 ‘ to the whole race of mankind; to promote
 ‘ the knowledge and practice of the blessed
 ‘ doctrines, as they tend so manifestly to extir-
 ‘ pate violence, injustice, and all the dreadful
 ‘ calamities of war; to establish peace and har-
 ‘ mony in the world, and to exalt the happiness
 ‘ of mankind both here and hereafter.

‘ To

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' To contribute as much as in us lies to these
 ' important purposes, we are induced to request
 ' your acceptance and candid perusal of the
 ' apology herewith presented to you, written by
 ' our friend Robert Barclay, for the spreading
 ' of truth, and the information of mankind,
 ' which at the same time that it exhibits the
 ' meek and humble pattern of holy Jesus, the
 ' doctrine of his apostles, the sentiments of the
 ' early christians, and our belief in relation to
 ' wars; contains a compendious view of the
 ' christian religion, divested of all those inven-
 ' tions with which it has been corrupted by the
 ' spirit of error, the pride, the wickedness, or
 ' the ignorance of men.

' This apology was addressed and delivered
 ' by the author to Charles II. king of Great
 ' Britain, and accepted by him and his royal
 ' successors, to whom it has been since present-
 ' ed, with marks of regard: we fervently wish
 ' it may contribute to your solid advantage,
 ' and by your means, to the promotion of peace,
 ' righteousness and true piety amongst those,
 ' over whom your influence in your respective
 ' stations may extend.

' May the God of peace and love make you
 ' the happy instruments of settling the tranquil-
 ' lity of Europe on a lasting foundation, and
 ' perpetuate the blessings of peace to the states
 ' you represent, and through them to the whole
 ' world.'

Signed in London on behalf of the aforesaid
 people, the 12th of 6th month called August,
 1748.

Joseph

Joseph Ollive,
Jacob Hagen,
John Hayward,

David Barclay,
Simeon Warner,
Thomas Hyam.

C H A P.
VIII
1748.

A suitable number of the apologies, in different languages, being sent over to Jan Vander Werf, and duly received by him, he took a journey to Aix-la-Chapelle to execute his commission, and by the account received from him, he was pretty well satisfied with the success he had, having waited upon the several ambassadors and presented them with apologies as directed, from most of whom he met with a friendly and courteous reception, and the letter and apologies were gratefully accepted, except by the French ambassadors, who being informed that they were upon religious affairs, signified they had no occasion for them, and refused accepting them.

Benjamin Kidd, who was born at or near Settle in Yorkshire, of parents in profession with the people called Quakers, was educated in that profession, and proved a very acceptable and serviceable member and minister of the society, and although his place in the estimation of his friends and others, might seem to require a more particular account of the transactions of his life and of his services, yet for want of other authentic materials, I must confine myself to the testimony, given of him by his Friends.

While he was very young he was favoured with the lively and powerful influences of divine grace, inclining him to religious thoughtfulness; and being faithful to the discoveries thereof, he was in or about the 21st year of his age, called to the work of the ministry; wherein through the operation

^{1751.}
Account of
Benjamin
Kidd.

C H A P. operation of the same divine principle, he
 VIII. grew in his gift, and soon became remarkable for
 1751. the excellency thereof, even while he appeared
 young in years; and thro' the advancing stages of
 his life, faithful in the discharge of manifested
 duty, and humbly relying upon and fervently
 seeking divine aid and preservation, he grew in
 grace, and I think it may be said, in favour with
 God and man.

He is described by his contemporary fellow members, partakers of the benefit of his labours, and witnesses of his virtue, as a man endued by the supreme dispenser of all good, with eminent qualifications for singular usefulness and service in the church. In the conducting of the discipline of the society manifesting peculiar abilities, and exerting them for the good of the body in great wisdom, being deep in religious experience, sound in judgment, discreet and able in counsel, and zealous for the promotion of truth and righteousness in the earth. In the exercise of his ministry well qualified to divide the word of truth, and to unfold the mysteries of the gospel, to the informing and convincing many who before were unacquainted therewith, and to the comfort and encouragement of such as were under affliction and distress of mind in their religious progress.

He was a man of great sincerity and integrity; in his common conversation becomingly cheerful, but weighty and instructive; in his life and conduct an example of those virtues, which his doctrine recommended; peculiarly kind and fatherly towards his friends, he was greatly respected by them; compassionate to the poor and distressed; generous in his disposition; of good understanding

understanding in the affairs of life, and freely c H A P. communicative; he was very serviceable and respectable amongst his neighbours; and generally beloved by persons of all ranks and denominations to whom he was known.

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Being a man of universal benevolence, and zealous to do good to all, he did not confine his service and usefulness to the place of his residence and the neighbourhood thereof; but followed the call of duty in paying religious visits to sundry parts of England, for the propagation of righteousness and truth. And about the 30th year of his age, he took a voyage to America on the like occasion, where many were convinced, and others confirmed through his powerful ministry. His service there was very great, and to the edification, comfort and satisfaction of friends, as appears by sundry accounts from thence.

He afterwards married and settled at Banbury, in Oxfordshire, and visited the meetings of his friends in Ireland, and continued his visits to various parts of England: the city of London in particular, frequently partook of the benefit of his pious and fervent labours in the ministry, to the great help and consolation of many; and in all his journeys moving under the influence of divine power and authority, he was enabled to turn many from darkness to light, and from the paths of disobedience to the wisdom of the just.

A few months before his death he was greatly afflicted with the stone; yet at times he went a little out; particularly he attended the quarterly meeting at Oxford, in the 10th month, 1750, through great affliction of body. About a month

CHAP. month before his decease, he attended the meeting at Banbury, at the burial of a young man of VIII.
1751. his acquaintance. In the course of the meeting he was raised, beyond all expectation to preach the gospel powerfully for about an hour, to the tendering the hearts of almost all present; many of his neighbours being there, confessed with admiration, to the power by which he was raised that day; remarking, that he had been a good man all his time, and that the Almighty had crowned him in the conclusion. After this he was mostly confined within doors, and continued in great submission to the divine will, without murmuring or repining.

A friend from London visiting him, found him under great bodily affliction, but freely resigned to the divine will; expressing his firm hope in that power which had all along supported him, and that though the greatest kindness to him was to solicit a release from his pains, yet he desired to be content and wait the Lord's time; and when the said friend took his leave of him, he expressed himself to him in an affectionate manner to his great comfort and encouragement.

At another time, having delivered some excellent exhortations to those present with him, he added for their encouragement to persevere in their christian progress, "I am under no fear, " nor doubtful apprehensions; for I know that "for me to live is Christ, and to die is gain."

When he was seized with the hic-cough, he seemed full of joy, saying, "This is a welcome messenger, it is one step nearer;" his wife standing by, asking why, he answered, "It will
" be

“ be a glorious change, I am not afraid to die, c h a p.
 “ and to put on immortality ; that will be de- VIII.
 “ sirable, yet I leave it, though of choice I had
 “ rather be dissolved ; but the Lord’s time will
 “ be the best time.”

He died the 21st of 3d month, 1751, aged about 59 years, a minister 38 years.

In 1751, an act of parliament was passed in England, for adopting the new style instead of the old, which had hitherto been used in the British dominions. The latter has been termed the Julian, from Julius Cæsar, who to reduce the civil year nearly to an equality with the tropical, considered the year to consist of 365 days, and six hours, and therefore ordered that to every fourth year one day should be added, and so make it consist of 366 days by adding one day to the month called February. But the true length of the year is computed to be 365 days 5 hours, 49 minutes nearly, i. e. 11 minutes yearly, less than the Julian computation, which in 131 years, makes the difference of one whole day. In 1572, pope Gregory XIII. reformed the Julian calendar by putting the year ten days forward, and this reformed calendar was thenceforward used by all those states, which owned the pope’s supremacy, and termed the new style ; while most of the protestant states continued the use of the former form of date, frequently for distinction adding O. S. signifying old style, and for the same reason such as used the Gregorian form would annex N. S. to the date. From 1572 to 1752, one day more had been anticipated, from which reason it was enacted that eleven days should be taken out of the calendar, and the day after the 2d of September, be called the 14th.

CHAP. VIII.
1751 In conformity to this alteration the meeting
for sufferings in London drew up, and circulat-
ed to friends the following directions and advice,

An Epistle to the Quarterly and Monthly Meet-
ings of Friends, in Great Britain, Ireland and
America.

‘ Dear Friends,

‘ Pursuant to the directions of the last year-
ly meeting, and the report of a committee, ap-
pointed by the said meeting to consider what
information or advice might be necessary to
be given to friends, in relation to an act made
the last session of parliament, for regulating the
commencement of the year, and correcting the
calendar now in use, this meeting hath thought
convenient to communicate unto you the fol-
lowing advices, viz.

‘ 1. By the said act it is ordered and enact-
ed, that, “ The supputation, according to
“ which the year of our Lord beginneth on
“ the 25th day of March, shall not be made
“ use of from and after the last day of Decem-
“ ber, 1751, and that the first day of January
“ next following the said last day of December,
“ shall be reckoned, taken, deemed and ac-
“ counted to be, the first day of the year of our
“ Lord, 1752, and so on from time to time, the
“ first day of January in every year which shall
“ happen in time to come, shall be reckoned,
“ taken, deemed and accounted to be the first
“ day of the year, and that each new year, shall
“ accordingly commence and begin to be rec-
“ koned,

" koned, from the first day of every such month C H A P.
" of January." VIII.

' 2. The opinion of the said committee,
' agreed to by the yearly meeting, was, That
' in all the records and writings of friends, from
' and after the last day of the 10th month, cal-
' led December, next, the computation of time,
' established by the said act, should be observed;
' and that accordingly the first day of the 11th
' month, commonly called January, next, shall
' be reckoned and deemed, by friends, the first
' day of the first month of the year 1752, and

| | | | | |
|-----|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| | <i>Eleventh</i> | <i>January</i> | <i>Firſt</i> | |
| | <i>Twelfth</i> | <i>February</i> | <i>Second</i> | |
| | <i>First</i> | <i>March</i> | <i>Third</i> | |
| | <i>Second</i> | <i>April</i> | <i>Fourth</i> | <i>Month of</i> |
| | <i>Third</i> | <i>May</i> | <i>Fifth</i> | <i>the next,</i> |
| The | <i>Fourth</i> | <i>June</i> | <i>Sixth</i> | <i>and every</i> |
| | <i>Fifth</i> | <i>July</i> | <i>Seventh</i> | <i>succeed-</i> |
| | <i>Sixth</i> | <i>August</i> | <i>Eighth</i> | <i>ing Year.</i> |
| | <i>Seventh</i> | <i>September</i> | <i>Ninth</i> | |
| | <i>Eighth</i> | <i>October</i> | <i>Tenth</i> | |
| | <i>Ninth</i> | <i>November</i> | <i>Eleventh</i> | |
| | <i>Tenth</i> | <i>December</i> | <i>Twelfth</i> | |

' 3. And whereas for the more regular com-
' putation of time, the same act of parliament
' doth direct, that, " The natural day next im-
" mediately following the second day of Sep-
" tember, in the year 1752, shall be called,
" reckoned and accounted to be the fourteenth
" day of September, omitting for that time
" only, the eleven intermediate days of the
" common calendar." The opinion of the said
' committee, approved by the yearly meeting,
' was, that friends should be found in the ob-
' servance of this direction, and omit the said
' eleven nominal days accordingly.

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‘ And we think it may be useful and expedi-
‘ ent, on the présent occasion, to revive in your
‘ remembrance some of the motives which in-
‘ duced our ancient friends, to forbear the vul-
‘ gar appellations of the months and days, and
‘ to observe in their conversations and writings,
‘ such names as were agreeable to scripture,
‘ and the practice of good men therein re-
‘ corded.

‘ The children of Israel, the people whom
‘ God chose out of all the families of the earth,
‘ to place his name among, and to make himself
‘ known unto, were strictly commanded, not
‘ only to abstain from the idolatrous practices of
‘ the nations, in the midst of whom they dwelt,
‘ but were enjoined to be *circumspect in all things*
‘ *that the Lord commanded*, and even to make
‘ *no mention of the names of other gods*, neither to
‘ *let it be heard out of their mouths*, Exod. xxiii.
‘ 13. This injunction was not relative to any
‘ legal or typical rites, external ceremonies, or
‘ institutions of the law peculiar to the Jewish
‘ nation, but was a perpetual command and
‘ standing ordinance, respecting the honour of
‘ the one Almighty Being, the same yesterday,
‘ to-day, and for ever, and as such, ought to
‘ be regarded by us, and by all the generations
‘ of those, who with the heart believe, as well
‘ as with the tongue confess, *that the Lord he is*
‘ *God, and that there is none else besides him*,
‘ Deut. iv. 35. who hath declared, *I am the*
‘ *Lord, that is my name, and my glory will I not*
‘ *give to another, neither my praise to graven*
‘ *images*, Isaiah xlvi. 8.

‘ Convinced of this great and everlasting
‘ truth, both by the testimony of the holy scrip-
‘ ture

ture, and the manifestation of that divine principle, which leads those who are faithful to its teachings, from all that would dishonour the name of God, either in word or deed ; our ancient friends were conscientiously concerned to refrain from the use of those names of months and days, which had been ascribed by way of honour to the idols of the heathen, and in conformity to their false worships : this concern rested upon them from a firm persuasion, that the glorious gospel day and time was come, wherein the Lord was fulfilling his covenant with Israel, viz. *I will take away the names of *Baalim out of his mouth, and they shall no more be remembered by their name,* Hosea ii. 17.

And that you may the more clearly discern the importance of that christian testimony, borne by our predecessors in this case, we recommend what follows to your serious consideration, viz.

A brief Account of the Origin of the Names of some Months of the Year, and of all the Days of the week, now customarily and commonly used.

I. January was so called from Janus, an ancient king of Italy, whom heathenish superstition had deified, to whom a temple was built, and this month dedicated.

II. February was so called from Februa, a word denoting purgation by sacrifices ; it being

* This word Baalim, being the plural number of Baal, signifying Lord, has relation to the names of divers idols of the heathen worshipped in several places.

C H A P. VIII.
 1751. ing usual in this month, for the priests of the
 heathen god Pan, to offer sacrifices and per-
 form certain rites, conduced, as was supposed,
 to the cleansing or purgation of the people.
 III. March was so denominated from Mars,
 feigned to be the god of war, whom Romulus,
 founder of the Roman empire, pretended to
 be his father.
 IV. April is generally supposed to derive
 its name from the Greek appellation of Venus,
 an imaginary goddess worshipped by the
 Romans.
 V. May is said to have been so called from
 Maia, the mother of Mercury, another of
 their pretended Ethnick deities, to whom in
 this month they paid their devotions.
 VI. June is said to take its name from Juno,
 one of the supposed goddesses of the heathen.
 VII. July so called from Julius Cæsar, one
 of the Roman emperors, who gave his own
 name to this month, which before was called
 Quintilis, or the fifth.
 VIII. August so named in honour of Augus-
 tus Cæsar, another of the Roman emperors.
 This month was before called Sextilis or the
 Sixth. †
 The other four months, namely, Septem-
 ber, October, November and December, still
 retain their numerical latin names, which, ac-
 cording to the late regulation of the calendar,
 will for the future be improperly applied. How-
 ever from the continued use of them hitherto, as
 well as from the practice of the Jews before the
 Babylonish captivity, || it seemeth highly pro-
 bable,

† Macrob. Saturn. lib. 1. cap. 12.

|| See the scriptures to the time of Ezra.

‘ bable, that the method of distinguishing the months by their numerical order only, was the most ancient, as it is the most plain, simple and rational.

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‘ As the idolatrous Romans thus gave names to several of the months in honour of their pretended deities: so the like idolatry prevailing among our Saxon ancestors, induced them to call the days of the week by the name of the idol, which on that day they peculiarly worshipped. Hence

‘ The first day of the week was by them called Sunday, from their accustomary adoration of the sun upon that day.

‘ The second day of the week they called Monday, from their usual custom of worshiping the moon on that day.

‘ The third day of the week they named Tuesday, in honour of one of their idols called Tuisco.

‘ The fourth day of the week was called Wednesday, from the appellation of Woden, another of their idols.

‘ The fifth day of the week was called Thursday, from the name of an idol called Thor, to whom they paid their devotions upon that day.

‘ The sixth day of the week was termed Friday, from the name of Friga, an imaginary goddefs by them worshipped.

‘ The seventh day they stiled Saturday, as is supposed from Saturn, or Seater, by them then worshipped. §

‘ The

§ See Verstegan and Sheringham.

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' The continued use of these names of days,
' derived from such gross idolatry of the hea-
' then, is a demonstration, how little the purity
' of the christian religion was understood by
' the generality of those who came into the pub-
' lic profession of it.

' The following ages of Popish superstition,
' not only indulged their proselytes in the use of
' such heathenish names and customs, but also
' invented and introduced other unfound and
' unscriptural practices in religion. For when
' the profession of the christian religion became
' national, multitudes of the heathen priests,
' whose interest lay in the performance of rites,
' ceremonies and sacrifices, embraced prevail-
' ing christianity with selfish views, and labour-
' ed early, with too much success, to find em-
' ployment for themselves, by imposing on the
' people a new set of ceremonies and sacrifices,
' bearing some resemblance to those which in
' their former state of heathenism they had been
' accustomed to. From this corrupt source sprang
' the Popish sacrifice of the mass, the cele-
' bration of which, at particular times, and on
' particular occasions, gave rise to the vulgar
' names of Michaelmas, Martinmas, Christmas,
' and the like.

' Seeing therefore that these appellations and
' names of days, months and times, are of an
' idolatrous or superstitious original, contrary to
' the divine command, the practice of good and
' holy men in former ages, and repugnant to the
' christian testimony borne by our faithful
' friends and predecessors in the truth, for the
' sake of which they patiently endured many
' revilings: let neither the reproach of singula-
' rity,

' rity nor the specious reasonings of such as
 ' would evade the cross of Christ, turn you
 ' aside from the simplicity of the gospel, nor
 ' discourage you from keeping to the language
 ' of truth, in denominating the months and
 ' days according to the plain and scriptural
 ' way of expression; and so shall we follow the
 ' example of our worthy elders, and come up in
 ' a noble and honourable testimony against
 ' these, and all other remains of idolatry and
 ' superstition.'

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From the meeting for sufferings in London,
the 6th day of the 7th month, 1751.

It is to be especially noted, that the dates hitherto used have been conformed to the old style, and sometimes so distinguished; and hereafter the months are numbered according to the new style, as regulated in the foregoing directions.

This year John Richardson, formerly of
 Bridlington, and afterwards of Hutton in the
 county of York, a minister of deep experience
 and primitive simplicity and self denial, died in
 an advanced age, very much devoted to the
 service of God, and promotion of pure religi-
 on. He was the son of William Richardson, of
 North Cave in the same county, who was early
 convinced by the ministry of William Dewsbury,
 and joined himself in society with the people
 called Quakers, amongst whom he was a ser-
 viceable member and minister; but John was
 early deprived of the religious care, oversight
 and instruction of his well concerned father, who
 was

1753.

Account of
John Rich-
ardson.

CHAP. was removed out of this life, when this son was
VIII. about 13 years of age.

1753. Peculiarly severe were the trials of this friend, both inward and outward. From the time of his father's death much bodily hardship, circumstances singularly distressing from various outward occurrences fell to his lot, besides a succession of internal conflicts and deep exercise of mind in his religious researches. For in this early part of his youth, he felt the convictions of divine grace disquieting his mind, when he was tempted to commit evil in any degree, in word or in deed. Yet reluctant (as is the nature of man) to take up the cross to his corrupt will and propensities, he strove to attain ease and peace, by silencing these disquieting convictions, and indulging his natural inclinations, which were not to gross evils, but to youthful liberties.

And notwithstanding he received his early education in the society of the people called Quakers, yet after the decease of his father, his surviving parent, though well esteemed in her neighbourhood, for industry and honesty, seemeth to have been not over solicitous about the religious institution of her offspring, leaving them in this respect pretty much to their own direction, so that her son John was at liberty to use his own discretion to associate with any religious society; and he appears to have used the liberty granted him, resorting sometime to one, and sometime to another, as his inclination led him, 'till about the sixteenth year of his age.

Yet even in this unsettled state as to religious profession, he was favoured with religious desires, which engaged him to converse with professors
of

of different denominations, enquiring of them for information, if they could direct him wherein he might find a safe rest to his soul; but after much searching and enquiring of those (as he expresseth it) who were but in the letter, and in the outward court, where the veil is over the understanding, he found his search ineffectual; and therefore instead of going from one set of professors to another for information, he declined to join any visible society, and betook himself to a retired life, seeking solitary and private places to pour out his supplications to the Almighty, that he would bring him to the saving knowledge of his truth. This petition he thought was graciously answered, being favoured with the illumination of the true light, discovering the wants of his soul in its unregenerated estate; and the necessity of being born again, to be prepared for an entrance into the kingdom of heaven. Through many painful conflicts under the crofs, crucifying him to the will of the flesh, and the spirit of the world, and great distress and tribulation of mind, under the ministrations of condemnation, he gradually experienced the washing of regeneration, and the renewings of the Holy Ghost, to effect that change, whereby the condemnation was removed, and justification in righteousness measurably attained.

In his time of unfixedness in religious profession and of seeking peace, if possible, without taking up the crofs to his own corrupt will and inclinations; to that of the people called Quakers, their name of contempt, their strict way of life and demeanour, plainness of habit and language (none of which he saith he learned of them) he had a particular aversion, but when his

CHAP. his eyes were illuminated to see the teacher,
VIII. that was not removed into a corner, and learn
1753. of him, who is meek and lowly, taking his yoke
upon him, he found himself circumscribed and
restricted to the like self-denying practice, which
had been the object of his aversion, and that
not by imitation but conviction, in like manner
as the faithful members of this society from their
beginning had been restricted. Being thus by
the same internal monitor brought into the same
faith and practice, he reclaimed his birth-right
in this society, and attended their meetings as
diligently as his circumstances would well admit,
about the 16th year of his age; and about the
18th, he appeared in the ministry and in pro-
cess of time became an excellent minister, not
of the letter only that killeth, but of the spirit
that giveth life.

Now when he had attained to some stability
in religion, and peace of mind succeeded the in-
ward conflicts and trouble through which he had
hitherto passed, his faith and patience were put
to close and severe trials from various outward
contingencies, of a nature particularly distressing.
His father left a widow with five children, and
but little substance beside his farm to subsist upon.
John was the eldest, but one sister, who died
soon after, whereby he found himself under a
necessity to apply to hard labour for his own
support, the help of his mother, and education
of his younger brothers. By his labour and
care, through the divine blessing, the family
were decently supported, and were prospering
in their circumstances, when an occurrence hap-
pened, which was attended with grievous conse-
quences to this young man. His mother was
solicited

solicited to a second marriage by a person rigidly zealous for Presbyterianism. John, apprehending he foresaw unhappy consequences from the unequal match, took the liberty to remonstrate against it, and told his mother that he feared, ‘ she had too much an eye to the man’s circumstances (for he was reputed to be rich) but if she thought to improve her children’s portions by a connection with him, she would meet with a disappointment of her hope; and not only so, but a blasting and mildew would come upon their own substance, the fruit of much labour and care, and which he believed would be blessed to them, if they kept faithful to the truth, and would content themselves with their present condition.’ His mother, although she seemed affected with his discourse, and gave some expectation that she would not marry any person with whom he was dissatisfied; was notwithstanding prevailed upon to join herself in the marriage against which he had remonstrated, which turned out much as he had foreseen.

For with her the family being young, removed to the step-father’s house, and their substance was intermixed with his; his mother dying before her husband, and he afterwards marrying again, by his last will left John Richardson five shillings, and some small token to his only surviving brother, in bar of any demand for their share of their parent’s substance, yet this was at the time a light affliction to what he had in the intermediate time to experience.

He had not been long in his step-father’s house ’till he found his situation very uneasy. His father-in-law treated him with symptoms of great

C H A P.
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1753.

CHAP. great displeasure, harshness and severity, on account of his going to meeting. John who seems to have been kept by him more in the station of a servant than a son, endeavoured to appease his displeasure by unremitting diligence in his business, working very hard, beyond his ability, even to that degree, that it seemed wonderful how his young weak body sustained the hardships which he at this time endured. But his most earnest endeavours to gain his father's countenance proved ineffectual; for his faithfulness and diligence in his business availed little. His father seemed callous to all reconciliation, while he continued to frequent the meetings of the people called Quakers, and declined the accompanying him to those of the Presbyterians. To render his attendance of the former as uneasy and distressing as possible, his father would send him on first day mornings, some miles into the fields and over the common to look after his cattle, horses and sheep, both to fatigue him and straiten him for time to reach the meetings of his friends, to which he had two, three, four, sometimes six miles to go, mostly on foot, and often so limited in time, that he was obliged to walk very fast, and frequently to run, to reach the meeting timely; which severity he bore with remarkable patience. His mother was affected with great anxiety and grief, under the mortifying reflection upon the hard circumstances, in which she had been instrumental to involve a dutiful son, who, she acknowledged, had never disobliged her, but had obeyed all her lawful directions and desires with alacrity; and that in contradiction to the gentle caution, wherein he had previously communicated his opinion

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opinion of the consequences of her marriage. C H A P. Several friends also could hardly forbear shedding tears, when they saw him come into the meeting in a violent heat and perspiration, sympathizing with him in the hard task he had to undergo. On his return from meetings he was generally received by his father with a countenance of displeasure and harsh rebuke as for delay, although he returned as seasonably as his strength and the distance of place would admit.

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1753.

At some times his father, on the other hand, would treat him with apparent kindness, to induce him to go with him to the place of worship he frequented, offering him in that case a horse to ride. Again he took him in his arms, and fawningly told him to this effect, that, ‘if John would behave as a son to him, he should find a father in him,’ hinting that he had no near kindred. As John was conscious that he had behaved to him as a son in doing every thing in the way of business that he required of him, and by his diligence had frequently anticipated his commands, he was at no loss to interpret his father’s meaning in this proposal, and therefore replied, ‘If in thus making me thy son, thou intends to hinder me from going to meetings, or to oblige me to go to the Presbyterians meetings, or any thing that is against my conscience, I cannot on this condition be thy son.’ And for the same reason he refused to become his hired servant, which he offered to make him and give him wages.

When his father found that neither his frowns, his imposition of hardships, his menaces, nor his promises of kindness could shake his step-son’s steadfastness in his religious principles,

CHAP. ciples, he suffered his passion and bigotry so far
VIII. to erase all tenderness and humanity, that in
1753. much wrath he abruptly told him that, ‘he
‘should stay no longer in his house.’ John
pleaded against this hard sentence ‘his constant
‘endeavour to serve him faithfully to the best of his
‘power by night or by day, and his purpose to
‘do so still, as far as he could without hurting
‘his conscience or wounding the peace of his
‘mind, which he valued above all the mutable
‘things of this world. But his father was too
much determined, to be moved by any considera-
tions of this kind. John even solicited his
father to permit him to stay till he might hear
of a place of service (though so weakened and
emaciated by hard labour that he hardly seemed
fit for one;) but the obdurate man would not
comply with this last reasonable request. His
mother was an afflicted witness of her son’s soli-
citations, and her husband’s obstinacy, which
so overwhelmed her in sorrow, that John found
it requisite to leave his father, in order to endea-
vour to alleviate his mother’s grief, telling her,
‘That if he was but faithful, he trusted in the
‘Lord that he would take care of him that he
‘should not want.’ Withal reminding her, ‘that
‘as she had entered into marriage covenants with
‘her husband, she should endeavour to perform
‘them, and to make her life as easy as she could,
‘and never to send him any thing, which her
‘husband knew not of, for he was not free to
‘receive it,’ although all their substance was
funk in his hands.

Thus determined his father turned him out,
weak in body, dejected in mind, with very lit-
tle money in his pocket, and very ordinary
clothes

clothes upon his back. Upon his taking leave^{C H A P.} VIII.
of the family many tears were shed, especially
by his mother. The father stood as one amaz-
ed to see the marks of so general affection mani-
fested toward him, and so general a sorrow at
his departure. Yet as destitute of common jus-
tice as of every tender feeling, he hesitated not
to turn him out into the wide world, to make
his way through life, stripped of every accommo-
dation, and in as destitute a condition as almost
any one could be, notwithstanding this father
was reckoned rich, and certainly owed him
some recompense for his service, and for his
share of his own father's property, which ap-
pears to have been considerably improved by
his care and labour, and of which this father
had possessed himself.

He went out on the common, where he had
taken many solitary walks before, yet none so
severely trying as this, because he knew not
whither to go, nor where to lay his head, not but
many of his friends would have given him a kind
reception, but he was unwilling to be burden-
some to any, unless he knew they had busi-
ness to employ him in, and looking to one
side and another, he thought it appeared, as if
his way was hedged in on every side, and that
scarce any man on earth was in so desolate a
condition. Under great distress and dejection
of spirit, he gave vent to the anguish of his
heart in cries and tears and supplications to the
Judge of all the earth, who, he thought, heard
and answered his cries with this intelligence,
*First seek the kingdom of heaven and the righteous-
ness thereof, and all these things that thou standest
in need of shall be given unto thee.* He believed

CHAP. and therefore found his mind reduced into quietude and saw then the place to resort to and abide for a season, viz. to the house of William Allen in South Cliff, to whom he bound himself to learn his trade, which was that of a weaver.

Although he might seem here in a very low sphere of life, yet he found himself settled to his full content and his situation changed for the better. Beloved by his master, and loving him sincerely, they lived together in great harmony. When his master understood, he had any concern or desire to visit any meetings, he would not suffer his business to be any impediment, but would desire him to take his mare and go, without any uneasiness either about the mare or business. Here he spent some time in short excursions to visit his friends in their meetings, as he apprehended the call of duty thereto, and in a diligent and close attention to his outward employment at home; both out of conscientious regard to his duty, not as an eye servant but in singleness of heart, as toward God; and also out of gratitude to so kind a master, he thought himself obliged to exert himself to the utmost, to make him a recompence as far as in his power.

It may perhaps to some readers appear beside the point, to descend to such particulars in the early stages of this friend's life, but it seems directly coincident with my design, which the reader hath been apprized is to exemplify the excellent effects produced in the hearts and actions of men, by a steady adherence to that inward principle of light and grace, which the people

people called Quakers most surely believe in, ^{C H A P.}
and bore testimony to.

VIII.

1753.

His first journey of consequence was into Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire and Warwickshire; and he was careful to return home as soon as by a diligent discharge of his duty and service, he could with ease and peace of mind, to apply himself with industry to his outward occupation, for his support, and procuring a little surplus to supply his necessary expenses in his future travels: and thus from the 20th to the 28th year of his age, he divided his time between an industrious application to his secular employment, to provide things honest in the sight of all men, and the discharge of his duty in fulfilling his ministry, for the edification of his friends and others; during which time, he travelled through most parts of England four times, and twice through most parts of Wales.

About this time he entered into a married state, and settled in Bridlington, where he was made instrumental to the help and strengthening of many in their religious progress, especially amongst the youth, several of whom were called to the work of the ministry and grew therein, to be serviceable men in their time. He was likewise very helpful in the promoting a settlement of a salutary discipline, in the monthly meeting, where it had not been so zealously supported, as in some other places.

In about five years after his marriage, his wife was taken from him, and he was left a widower with three small children, and at the same time having had many years a prospect of duty to visit his friends in the American colonies, and the appointed time appearing to draw

CHAP. near, he laboured under much discouragement
VIII. in consideration of his circumstances in the
1753. world, which were far from opulent*, and the
charge of his helpless children; but providence
so ordered it, that his youngest child was remov-
ed by death in less than a year, and his two
other children were placed to his own satisfa-
ction and that of his friends. Whereby
seeing his little family and his affairs reputably
settled, that the truth which he professed, and
for the promotion whereof he thought it
his duty to leave all his near connections
and his native country, might receive no dis-
honour by any contingency in his private af-
fairs

* Upon mentioning his outward circumstances, as being possessed of little substance, he explains his meaning by some reflections, expressive of that honest simplicity and integrity, conspicuous in the primitive professors of the principle of a divine light, in the following terms, ‘ I would not have any to misunderstand me, for as to my outward circumstances, I left no debt, neither was I in a way of going backward in the world; for ever after I received the knowledge of the truth, I could not see what pretence I could have to religion, if any should lose by me: I have often said, and been hearty in my intentions, *That rather than truth should suffer on that score, I would live upon bread and water, and wear very mean clothes, and work very hard, if I were able, and upon any mean, if but lawful calling.* It hath been matter of wonder to me, how any that appear to carry any pretensions to religion, dare run such great ventures, sometimes beyond their own bottoms or abilities; which to me hath always appeared an unwarrantable risque; and, as I apprehend, pride and ostentation is much the occasion of it, which are much against truth, and men are no better for their greatness, for the more plain and the more humble we are, the more we resemble humble Jesus, and the religion, which he laboured to inculcate. If any are lifted up, or aspire above their place, let them consider well the foregoing paragraph.’

fairs in his absence, he took leave of his friends at home, not without the natural emotions of sorrow and regret, and set forward on his journey to London, whence he proposed to embark in the 8th month, 1700, and sailing from thence in company with Thomas Thompson, Josiah Langdale and John Estaugh, the 17th of the following month, after a tedious passage of sixteen weeks arrived in the river Patuxent in Maryland.

He spent about two years and a half in this journey, in which time he visited the colonies generally where friends were settled, viz. Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, &c. to New England, and sundry parts twice over; after which he visited the islands of Bermudas and Barbadoes; from the latter he took shipping for Bristol, where he arrived in the 6th month called June, 1703.

In this journey his ministerial labours were eminently serviceable, acceptable and edifying, to the conviction of many, and confirmation of many more, particularly in the island of Nantucket, where, the whole meeting or greatest part were wonderfully affected by the power attending his ministry—sundry remarkable occurrences he met with in the course of his travels, which are related at large in his journal, to which I refer the reader, as a work profitable from his wise and instructive reflections, and agreeable from the variety of incidents and his plain yet pleasing manner of relating them. The narrative of his controversy with George Keith, hath already filled some pages of this volume; and in the course of his travels he met with other occasions of debate, especially in New-England,

C H A P. VIII. England, from the opposition of some professors

1753.

of the religion of that country, to his doctrine, which he managed with so much wisdom, temper and modesty, as carried with them evident conviction of the truths he defended. In passing some of the great rivers and other waters in open boats, he and the company appeared oftener than once in great danger of losing their lives, through accidents, the badness, inconvenience or mismanagement of the boats, in most of which perils, he seems, under providence, to have been principally instrumental to the escape of himself and companions, by his exertions and presence of mind. An instance whereof, accompanied with sensible and edifying reflections, I think not impertinent to introduce here from his journal, in hopes it may engage the attention of some readers to profit thereby.

' In our imminent danger (saith he) I looked over
 ' my tender friends, and thought in my heart,
 ' what a pity it would be, if all these were drown-
 ' ed! yet the thought of my own drowning never
 ' entered my mind, until I was got over the river,
 ' which was a mercy to me, and a great means
 ' to keep out the disorder and confusion, which
 ' commonly attend sudden surprizes and frights,
 ' which also make many faint hearted, and al-
 ' most senseless.'

' On this occasion, as well as many others, I
 ' reflected that it is an excellent thing to be, as
 ' much as we can, always ready, and by fre-
 ' quent ruminating upon death, to live so as to
 ' be fit to die, that it may not cause so much
 ' surprize and consternation when it doth come:
 ' this is a great point of true wisdom, so to num-
 ' ber our days, as to consider our latter end."

Whilst

Whilst he remained at home, he was exemplary C H A P. VIII.
in the diligent attendance of the meeting to which
he belonged, as also the monthly and quarterly
meetings; and visited many meetings abroad. 1753.
After living in the state of a widower near seven
years, he married again; but in a few years, he
was deprived of his second wife. Both his
wives were sober, religious women, fit help-mates
in the best sense, ready to give him up, and to
forward rather than obstruct him in the faith-
ful performance of every religious service.
During the time of his last marriage, he paid
two religious visits, one to the northern, and
the other to the southern counties of England.
And afterwards repeated his visits to the same
parts: in the year 1717, he visited the wes-
tern counties as far as Cornwall: Ireland in
1722; and in the 3d month, 1731, he a second
time embarked for America, and visited the
meetings of his friends generally through the
colonies on the Continent, which took him
near two years to accomplish, returning home
the 1st of 3d month, 1733.

He lived to a good old age, and when he
was confined by the infirmities attendant on
this stage of life, and his natural faculties
somewhat impaired, he appeared more heavenly-minded
to the last, and finished his course in
this world, in a well grounded hope of the fruition
of that happiness, which is prepared in
the next for those who persevere to the end
in well-doing. He died the 2d of the
4th month, 1753, in the 87th year of his
age, and was buried in friends burying ground,
at Kirby-moor-side.

Samuel

C H A P.

VIII

1753.

Account of

Samuel

Bownas.

Samuel Bownas of Bridport, in Dorsetshire, who was also a very serviceable and well-approved minister of this society, died in the course of this year, and upon the very same day with the aforementioned friend. He was born in Westmorland, within the compass of great Strickland monthly meeting, about the year 1676. His father was taken away before he attained the capacity of knowing him, being only about a month old; but he was informed by those who knew him, that he was an honest zealous friend, and a considerable sufferer upon account of religion, both in the loss of his substance and liberty, the meeting being kept in his house, in some of the hottest time of persecution in the reign of king Charles II.

His mother, who was a religious woman, was very careful to train him up in sobriety, and to advise him to the fear of the Lord in his youth, but being in low circumstances, she put him apprentice to a blacksmith, when he was but about 13 years of age. He was first put out with his uncle, and afterwards to Samuel Parrot of Brigflats, an honest well minded friend, who treated him with affectionate kindness; yet notwithstanding his mother's tender care, and his master's example, he was as yet very indifferent about religion, and had very little sense thereof. On first days he frequented meetings, but received little other benefit thereby, than being prevented from falling into hurtful company, which indeed is a very great service to youth. In this time of inadvertency, he indulged himself in a latitude in conversation, for which he often met with remorse and inward reproof; not that he was tainted with any

gross

gross vice, but was much given to jesting and witty turns to provoke mirth; whereby he gained the reputation of a witty, sensible young man; but the airiness of his discourse, in the hour of cool reflection was generally succeeded by a heavy heart under the conviction of divine grace.

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About the middle time of his apprenticeship, he met with an awakening reach. One first day morning a young woman preaching in their meeting, and Samuel fixing his eye upon her, she seemed to point at him, and uttered the following expressions with great energy, “A traditional Quaker! thou comest to meeting as thou went from it the last time, and goest from it, as thou camest to it; but art no better for thy coming: what wilt thou do in the end?” These words were so exactly adapted to his state at that time, that he conceived them to have been spoken to himself and was, as it were, smitten to the ground; and in the awakened language of his soul, poured out this secret ejaculation “Lord, what shall I do to help it?” when he heard, as if a voice spoke in his heart, “Look unto me, and I will help thee,” which administered comfort to his soul.

Yet in his return home he was affected with anxiety and serious thoughtfulness to that degree that he could neither eat nor sleep as usual. The solidity of his conduct and the gravity of his countenance evidenced a great and sudden change in his mind and manners, his mirth was turned into mourning under that godly sorrow which produceth sincere repentance, so that several who observed him were apprehensive of his

CHAP. his danger of falling into a melancholy. But
VIII. in this state of inward thoughtfulness and exer-
cise of spirit on the most important of all sub-
jects, the religion whereby he might please his
Maker, and secure the happiness of his own soul,
he found a solemnity over his mind, such as he
had not known before. And now when he
came to meeting he was neither drowsy as
had been too customary with him, nor distracted
by wandering cogitations; but inward stillness,
and true devotion of heart before God, was
strengthened to worship him, according to his
own requirings "in spirit and in truth." His
soul was quickened by the word, which is quick
and powerful, and his understanding experi-
mentally opened into the meaning and application
of the Scriptures, and the nature of true gospel
ministry, which 'till then he appears to have
been wholly ignorant of; so that he seemed to
himself another man.

It was not long after his reformation, that he
was called to the work of the ministry; but he
began to reason within himself, that 'so sudden
' a change would hardly be borne;' and seve-
ral of his companions being present in the meet-
ing, who had been witnesses of the levity of his
late conversation, and his faculty of creating and
circulating mirth amongst them, they proved
another cause of discouragement in his way:
so that more than once, while he sat under the
increasing burden of the word, by the like rea-
soning he put it off. In consequence he fell
under great distress of mind, fearing that he had
by disobedience offended to that degree, that he
should be cast off for ever; he sought solitude,
to give vent to his sorrows in secret, remote from
the

observation of men; but the effects of his troubled mind, and of his tears, became visible on his countenance, which his master observing and sympathizing with him, kindly enquired the reason of his trouble, which he candidly discovered. Hereupon his master consoled him with the hope, that he would come under the like concern again, and advised him to give way thereto, which he accordingly did, to his great consolation and peace of mind.

C H A P.

VIII.

1753.

He had at this time about three years of his apprenticeship to serve, during which he continued at times to appear in the ministry in a few words at home, but did not travel much abroad till the term of his servitude was expired. Having served his full time with fidelity and diligence, and in the last year conceiving a draught of duty to pay a religious visit to friends in Scotland, he set out in company with Isaac Alexander, beginning their journey on foot at Kendal and the adjacent meetings, they proceeded through part of Lancashire and Yorkshire; then visiting some parts of Cumberland, they went forward to Scotland, and accomplished their visit in about two months. In this journey Samuel thought his companion had very good service, but he himself was deeply proved with poverty of spirit, which appeared at the time hard to bear, being filled with anguish under the power of death and darkness, and all comfort hid from him; but when the cloud which covered his mind was blown over, he clearly saw the benefit of trials in different dispensations, for improvement in experience and for establishment in the root of a divine and spiritual ministry.

Many

CHAP. VIII. Many of these bright ministers of the northern counties were but in narrow circumstances as to earthly possessions, being raised up from the lower class of people, of which number this worthy friend was one. His late journey having well nigh consumed what little money he was master of, he returned home almost pennyless; therefore the time of hay-harvest coming on, he applied himself to mowing and other harvest work, as a day labourer, for his present support; and to lay up a part of his earnings to put himself in proper condition for another journey, and for his expenses and accommodation therein; at the same time he attended such neighbouring meetings, as he felt an engagement to visit, going to one or another to the distance of 10 or 12 miles on foot, and returned back the same way to follow his labour. It was thus these disinterested men, after the apostolic practice, divided their time, disengaging themselves from the world, and all worldly engagements, when they apprehended the call of duty to go forth with the message of the gospel, and when discharged from the concern, to labour with their hands to supply their necessities, that they might not make the gospel chargeable or burdensome to those they ministered unto. In the succeeding autumn and winter of the year 1699, he visited several of the southern and western counties of England, and part of Wales, and in the succeeding year visited many meetings on the eastern side of England. In 1701, he visited Scotland a second time in company with Isaac Thompson, and after visiting the meetings of his friends in a general way, they came to Kelso in their return to England, and from thence to

Jedburgh

Jedburgh, a town where none of the people called Quakers resided, and where 'till this time, they were very little known, except as abusively represented by the preachers. When they came thither, they went to an inn, but the bigotted landlord refused them entertainment, their minister having endeavoured to paint out this people to his hearers, in the most hideous colours. They went to another inn, where they obtained admission, and after they had taken some refreshment, they went out into the street, and sat down at the market cross; but had not sitten long 'till they were taken into custody, and committed to prison. Soon after a messenger came from the provost to offer them their liberty on condition that they would depart the town without preaching, Samuel signified that they could make no such agreement, and wrote to the provost their reas ons; but the people were so deterred from holding any communication with them, that it was very difficult to procure any messenger to carry the letter.

Next day [through the intervention of a country gentleman] they obtained their liberty, and it being market-day, and the town full of country people; after refreshing themselves at the inn, they went up to the market-cross, but finding no convenient room there, they removed to another eminency, near the highest part of the principal street; Samuel Bownas there preached to a crowded body of several hundreds of people; and being afterwards fervently concerned in prayer, while he was praying two men took him by the arms, and led him down the street, he in the mean time continuing his prayer

C H A P.
VIII.

1753.

CHAP. prayer as they led him along, till it was finished.
VIII. They conveyed him again to the prison door;
1753. but he pleaded against a second illegal imprisonment, that he should not willingly go thither again, without being first examined by a magistrate, and if it appeared he had broken any law, or committed any offence worthy of imprisonment, and they had a mittimus setting forth his crime, he would not refuse submission to legal authority; but without it, he would not go, except he was forced by violence, which he hoped they would not attempt. A soldier, who stood sentinel at the prison and overheard this plea, insisted that his countryman had spoken right, according to law and justice; "and therefore" (said he) "if you will take him before the provost for examination you may; but if not, touch him, who dare." This laconic speech uttered with a determined air, had its effect, the officers went off, and left Samuel again at full liberty.

Samuel being elevated several steps above the attendant crowd, it furnished him with a favourable opportunity to give them a second exhortation, the people were very quiet and attentive, appeared respectful and well satisfied; and he, having discharged himself of what he conceived his duty, retired to the inn full of peace and consolation. In the evening some of the better sort of the inhabitants paid them a friendly visit, which was pretty long; for as they were very much strangers to the people and their principles, they were desirous to be informed, and spent some hours in religious conference, wherein Samuel was enabled to answer their objections,

jections, and satisfy their enquiries pretty fully. So they took their leave in a friendly and affectionate manner, at a late hour, seemingly pleased with the information which they had received.

C H A P.
VIII.

1753.

In the third month 1702 he embarked for America, and arrived in river Patuxent in Maryland, the latter end of 5th month following, and here almost immediately after, he received the challenge from G. Keith, which with his consequent imprisonment hath been related in course.* He visited the meetings of friends pretty generally through the fundry British colonies in North America, from Carolina to New England, which with the time he spent in confinement, took him upwards of four years, it being 10th month, 1706, when he landed at Portsmouth. His service was very considerable, and very acceptable to his friends there in a general way, and instrumental to bring over several to the society by convincement.

Having thus diligently employed his time from the expiration of his apprenticeship 'till the 30th year of his age, between his temporal and spiritual engagements, soon after his return from America he married a young woman in Somersetshire, and removed to reside with her there. His engagements in marriage and in business for the support of his family, did not divert his attention from that which he esteemed his principal engagement, a life of devotedness to the will of God, and promoting a religious life and religious dispositions among his friends and others.

See page 134, &c.

In

CHAP. VIII. In the summer 1708, he went over to Ireland, on a religious visit to friends of that nation, and in the intervening time between his landing at Cork, and the ensuing half-year's meeting in Dublin, he visited the meetings generally through the nation, and after the half-year's meeting, took shipping at Cork, and landed at Minehead, after an absence of more than 18 weeks.

After his return from this journey, he seems to have been for some time released from distant travels, but was diligent in his outward occupation, and in visiting the neighbouring meetings, which were pretty numerous. In 1715, he visited Cornwall. In 1719, sundry counties of England, and Scotland a third time. In 1726, he embarked for America again, and after a tedious voyage of eleven weeks landed at Hampton in Virginia, whence he proceeded through the colonies to New England and back again, having visited most of the meetings of his friends through all the provinces, and sundry of them several times over, and finished his service where he began it, at Hampton; from which place he re-embarked for England, in company with Robert Jordan, thankful that he had been preserved in health, and supported with strength both of body and mind, to accomplish this long and tedious journey, through the very severe extremes of heat and cold, in about eighteen months.

In the latter part of the voyage, they met with a violent storm, such as the sailors said they had not known before, and it came upon them so suddenly, that they were not prepared for it; the water came in upon them and so increased, that it was seven or eight feet deep in the hold.

It

It staved the water casks fastened on the decks; C H A P. whereby they lost above a tun and a half of water; washed some hogs over board, and de-
stroyed a great number of their fowl. These losses were irreparable; the sails were torn like paper; the fore-top-mast and several of the yards, and the tiller of the rudder were broken, so that having no command of the ship, they seemed to be in the utmost danger, till the storm abated; and then it took them a full week to repair the damage, so as to be in a condition to make sail again; and the wind being unfavourable, the men, by reason of the losses sustained, were put to an allowance of bread and water.

VIII.

1753.

But in the midst of dangers nothing supports men in a calm presence of mind like true religion, and a consciousness of acting uprightly, in singleness of heart towards God. This friend amidst surrounding danger, confiding in that divine providence which is everywhere present, ruling by sea and land, who can command the winds to be still, and the heaving waves to subside, found comfort in meditating on his promises, to care for those who put their trust in him; and after some further trials of his faith and patience, he was preserved to land safely at Plymouth, and from thence reached his own house, the 2d of 8th month, 1728, having been absent about a year and ten months. Upon entering his own house he felt abundant consolation and peace of mind, in reward of his fidelity in the discharge of duty, through all attendant discouragements and difficulties.

He staid pretty much at and about home till the year 1740, when he visited his friends in various counties in England, and paid a second

C H A P. visit to those in Ireland. The years 1746,
VIII. 47, 48, and 1749, he spent mostly in travelling
1753. in different quarters of the nation. And after
this it doth not appear that he travelled any
long journies, the infirmities of age incapacitating
him; but was very diligent in attending
meetings both at home and in the neighbourhood
for twenty or thirty miles round, as long as his
health and strength continued, his ministry con-
tinuing lively and powerful to the last, to the
edification and comfort of those who heard it.

1747.
Cafe of
Travel
Fuller.

Travel Fuller, of Swaffham in Norfolk, be-
ing prosecuted for Easter offerings in the Eccle-
siastical court, at the suit of Robert Say, priest of
that parish; a prohibition was obtained and the
cause being removed into the Temporal court,
an hearing was had thereon at the Lent assizes
at Thetford in Norfolk, in the 1st month, 1747,
when the following state of the cafe was agreed
to by the counsel on both sides, and submitted
to the judgment of the court, viz.

That within the parish of Swaffham there is,
and for all the time whereof the memory of
man is not to the contrary, there hath been a
certain custom, that every married man inhabiting
and residing within the said parish of Swaff-
ham, with his wife being respectively of the
age of sixteen years or older, hath paid, and
hath used and been accustomed to pay for
himself and his wife to the vicar of the
parish of Swaffham aforesaid, for the time being,
yearly at the feast of Easter, or so soon after as
the same hath been demanded, four pence as
for or in the name of Easter offerings. That at
Easter, 1745, and long before, the plaintiff and
his then and now wife were and now are Quak-
ers.

ers. That neither the plaintiff or his said wife ever went to the church of Swafham, or ever received the sacrament or communion with or from the defendant, nor did the plaintiff or his said wife ever participate of or personally attend upon any of the offices of the church.

C H A P.
VIII.

1747.

Upon the whole it is submitted to the court, whether the defendant is intitled to a writ of consultation or not?

The Case of Travel Fuller, sued in the Bishop's Court for Easter Offerings.

The said Fuller, coming to live in the parish of Swafham in the county of Norfolk, about three months since, before the time called Easter, in the year 1745, Robert Say, vicar of the said parish, did soon after the said time demand of Fuller four pence, as an Easter offering due from him and his wife at Easter, which Fuller refusing to pay, Say libelled him in the court of the bishop of Norwich. Whereupon Fuller in the term called Trinity term, 1746, applied to the court of Common Pleas for a prohibition, upon a suggestion that Easter offerings are not due, but where there are particular customs warranting the payment of them, and whether there was such a custom in the parish of Swafham, the Spiritual courts had no right to try. And on this foundation the court granted a prohibition; but at the same time, at the instance of Say's counsel the court obliged Fuller to declare in prohibition within a limited time,*

* This was a step never before taken by any parson in the case of Easter offerings.

C H A P. which he accordingly did. And to such declaration Say pleaded that within the parish of Swafham, there was a certain custom used, that every married man inhabiting and residing in the said parish of Swafham with his wife, they being both sixteen years and older, hath used, been accustomed and ought to pay for himself and his wife to the vicar yearly at the feast of Easter, four pence as for and in the name of Easter offering. That Fuller at Easter, 1745, and for a long space of time then last past, was and still is an inhabitant in the said parish with his then and now wife, and that they were at the feast of Easter of the age of sixteen and older, and that Say having been vicar of the said parish for more than a year past, there was due to him four pence from the said Fuller.

Fuller disputed the custom, and thereupon issue was joined, which issue was tried before Sir Thomas Abney, the 26th of the 1st month (called March) 1747, at the assizes held at Thetford for the county of Norfolk.

Fuller had for his counsel, counsellors Pont, Malon and Potter, and serjeant Leeds, all which except counsellor Pont, had been several times attended by one or more of the friends appointed by the meeting on this affair; and once on a general consultation of the said counsel; and at Thetford before the trial came on they were again all applied to by Edmund Peckover and Richard How, who then also waited on counsellor Pont.

It was then agreed, that in case the custom should be proved, endeavours should be used to obtain a special verdict, that so the judgment of all the judges might be had; but that could not be

be, though the custom was so fully proved that C H A P. Fuller's counsel did not think fit to examine any VIII. of the witnesses that were provided; as the judge desired they would not, but save the time 1747. of the court.

The reason the judge assigned against a special verdict was that it would be attended with an hundred pounds extraordinary expense; but said he was willing it should be made a case, and referred for the judgment of the court of Common Pleas. As a question had arisen whether the custom was good or not, and whether Fuller was liable to pay the demand, as his counsel insisted that Easter offerings were due and payable to the vicar for officiating at the sacrament, and, that Fuller never partook or attended at any of the offices of the Church.

It was hereupon agreed by the counsel on both sides that a verdict should be given for the plaintiff, and the matter objected on behalf of the defendant should be reserved for the determination of the court of Common Pleas. Whereupon a verdict was given and the following order and case agreed upon.

" It is ordered by the consent of the parties
" their counsel and attorneys that the verdict
" now given in this cause for the defendant, shall
" stand as a security to him, and that the mat-
" ter in law in this cause be referred for the op-
" nion of the court of Common Pleas, whom
" the said parties their counsel and attorneys
" shall attend and if the opinion of the said
" court shall be for the plaintiff, then the de-
" fendant shall not proceed on the said verdict,
" but shall pay the plaintiff or his attorney his
" costs of this suit, to be taxed by the prothono-
" tary;

C H A P. " tary; and if the opinion of the said court of
VIII. " Common Pleas shall be for the defendant,
1747. " then the said defendant may proceed on the
 " verdict notwithstanding this order: and it is
 " further agreed by the like consent that the
 " postea shall remain in the hands of the associ-
 " ate, and not be returned without the order of
 " the said court of Common Pleas, and that
 " order shall be made a rule of his majesty's
 " court of Common Pleas.

" By the court,
 " Rash, Associate."

In pursuance of this order the following case
 was stated and agreed by counsel on both
 sides.

" That within the parish of Swafham, there
 " is and for all the time whereof, the memory
 " of man is not to the contrary, there hath
 " been a certain custom that every married
 " man inhabiting and residing within the said
 " parish of Swafham with his wife, such mar-
 " ried man and his wife, being respectively of
 " the age of sixteen years or older, hath paid
 " and hath used and been accustomed to pay
 " for himself and his wife, to the vicar of
 " Swafham, yearly at Easter four pence, for
 " and in the name of Easter offerings. That at
 " Easter, 1745, and long before, the plaintiff and
 " his wife were and now are Quakers, residing
 " in the parish of Swafham, and respectively
 " sixteen years of age. That neither the plain-
 " tiff nor his said wife ever went to the church
 " of Swafham, and never received the sacra-
 " ment or communion with or from the defen-
 " dant, nor did the plaintiff or his said wife
 " ever

"ever participate of or personally attend upon c H A P.
"any of the offices of the church." VIII.

On the whole whereof it was submitted to
the court whether the defendant is intitled to a
writ of consultation on this case or not.

1747.

Signed, Edward Leeds for the plaintiff,
H. Partridge for the defendant.

N. B. Serjeant Prime refused to sign the cause on behalf of the defendant, because he disapproved it, thinking it much to his client's prejudice.

After this, serjeant Leeds, serjeant Skinner, serjeant Willis, serjeant Bootle, serjeant Draper, were attended by Fuller's attorney, and one or more of the friends appointed, to advise on the affair, and it was agreed that serjeant Leeds should have the first argument, serjeant Skinner the second, and either Willis or Bootle the third, provided there should be so many; but as the case was new and of great consequence, the court of Common Pleas, gave the counsel time to prepare until the term called Michaelmas term: and then it was several times adjourned, occasioned by the indisposition or absence of one or other of the judges, but on the sixteenth of the 9th month, 1747, at the court of Common Pleas all the four judges being present, viz.

Sir John Willis,
Sir Thomas Abney,
Sir Thomas Burnett,
Sir Thomas Burch,

This affair came on with serjeant Leeds argument on behalf of the plaintiff Fuller; he began

CHAP. gan with a recital of the previous proceedings,
VIII. then very pertinently took notice of the provi-
1747. sion the legislature had made for the easy recov-
ery of these small demands from Quakers by
justices warrant, of which provision he con-
cluded the defendant could not be ignorant, no
more than of the. Quakers conscientious scruple
to pay them, and yet the defendant had chosen
the expensive and vexatious method of proceed-
ing in the Ecclesiastical court.

He cited many authorities to prove that offer-
ings in general were for many of the earliest
ages of christianity the only provision for the
maintenance of the ministers, and all other the
necessities of the church, and that Easter offer-
ings in particular were given some hundred
years before the establishment of tithes, which
was not till about the eighth century.

That Easter offerings were a gratification,
compensation or fee given the minister for, or
on account of his labour in administering the
communion, or for or on account of the holy
loaf to be used at the communion.

That it was impossible Easter offerings should
be a composition for, or any ways relate to
personal tithes, as those offerings were used to
be given many hundred years before the esla-
blishment of any tithes, of which personal tithes
were the last and least general.

That the offerings which have remained since
the reformation, have been for marriages, church-
ing of women, christenings, burials and for the
sacrament.

He cited divers authorities in tried cases,
wherein when the office not being performed,
the offering had been adjudged not to be pay-
able

able. And urged, that Easter offerings were of the same nature with those several other offerings, and that with regard to the plaintiff and and his wife, it appeared in the case that the defendant had done nothing for them whereby to intitle him to an Easter offering.

C H A P.

VIII.

1747.

As by the act of Toleration, Quakers were exempted from any obligation of conformity to the church or its ceremonies.

He copiously expatiated on the several heads before mentioned, having taken much pains himself, as well as that he had been greatly assisted by the many quotations and observations communicated by our friends Alexander Fothergill, William Hird, Josiah Forster, &c.

Serjeant Belfield on behalf of the defendant answered pretty briefly, endeavouring to narrow the whole affair into the single question, whether the Quakers were exempted or not? though he made some attempts and quoted some authorities to prove Easter offerings not to be sacramental, but a composition for personal tithes. He insisted strenuously that though by the act of the first of William and Mary, Quakers were exempted from the penalties of certain laws to which they were before liable, for their nonconformity to the church of England, yet they were by no means excused from the payment of tithes, or any other ecclesiastical dues.

Serjeant Leeds replied in support of what he had before advanced, adding some further reasons to prove that Easter offerings were not a composition for, nor had no relation to personal tithes, and particularly that those offerings were payable at the age of sixteen by persons of all ranks and degrees; whereas personal tithes were

CHAP. were payable by none before the age of twenty-one, and then not by the nobility, gentry, day-labourers and others.

1747.

He observed, that in the rubrick confirmed by parliament of the second of Edward VI. the curate was to provide bread and wine at his own cost, and the parishioners to contribute money. That in the next common prayer book the parson was discharged, and the church-wardens and ministers were directed to provide the bread and wine at the parish expense.

The judges then proceeded to deliver their opinions, lord chief justice Willis began with fine encomiums on the large body of people called Quakers, for their loyalty and usefulness; then took notice of serjeant Leeds learned dissertation on the original of Easter offerings; but said he should not meddle with things he did not well understand, but confine himself to deliver his opinion according to law, yet should defer his full determination to a further hearing, as he supposed there were more counsel to speak in the cause: but hitherto it appeared to him that Easter offerings had for a long time been customarily paid as due to the clergy, and had been confirmed by several laws, and that by the act commonly called the act of Toleration, the payment of tithes and other ecclesiastical dues, was expressly continued and preserved by a special clause for that purpose, and that he could not find in any statute that any people whosoever were exempted: that the jury at Nisiprius had found that it had been customary for the inhabitants of Swafham to pay Easter offerings; that he did not apprehend that these offerings were due to the vicar for actually administering the sacrament,

but

but for his being ready to perform that office, C H A P.
VIII.
1747. and that a man's alledging that he never did participate, was not sufficient to excuse him from payment, for by the same rule he might plead an exemption from the tithes because he never went to hear the parson. That on the whole his present opinion was to grant a consultation, but he should attend to what might be advanced in the future arguments, intimating however to the counsel that they should confine themselves to matters of law only.

The other judges all declared their concurrence with the lord chief justice.

Judge Burnett observed, that when the legislature exempted Dissenters from penalties by the act of Toleration, they took care to preserve the established church and the rights of its clergy.

Judge Burch said he should be glad to hear the case further argued, but it would then be necessary for the counsel to shew that the Quakers were exempted by statute law from the payment of Easter offerings to the clergy.

After this serjeant Skinner having been applied to, he declared it was his opinion that further arguments would be fruitless considering how far the court had declared itself and how much they had narrowed up the counsel.

The meeting for sufferings on deliberate consideration agreed that the friends appointed to attend the affair might let the court know, that we would give the court no further trouble but rely on what had been already advanced, which was done accordingly.

And

C H A P. And on the 28th of 9th month, being the
VIII. last day of term the court proceeded to final
1747. judgment, which

The lord chief justice Willis introduced with a speech wherein he intimated that he had before given his opinion, though in regard to a worthy set of men called Quakers, he had consented to a further hearing, which however they did not desire, but did as they do in all other instances, act as a people of a pacific temper, always submitting to the laws of their country.

He then recited the previous proceedings, particularly at the assizes of Norfolk, where the jury had found the custom, but could not determine the law; and that it was therefore referred to the court of Common Pleas for their opinion, whether the custom was reasonable and legal as to the Quakers.

He then repeated great part of what he had said at the hearing, and added,

That he thought the instance of marriage no parallel, for that a man was at liberty whether he would take the benefit of marriage, but that all were obliged to communicate until dispensed with, and still were obliged to pay, that never having been dispensed with, particular care having been taken in the act of Toleration, that the Dissenter should not be profited, nor the minister prejudiced, he then added that the verdict must stand, and the plaintiff have leave to enter judgment thereon and avoid a consultation.

1756. Peter Andrews from New Jersey, in the
Account of the course of a religious visit, died in the city of
Peter An- Norwich this year; of whom friends in said
drews. place testified that his memory was very precious
 to them; and that few friends who travelled
 this

this nation (England) had been more approved, C H A P. or had more general service in so short a space ^{VIII.} of time. ^{1756.}

In the testimonies given forth concerning him, we find little or no account of the forepart of his life. It having pleased the Lord to bestow on him a gift in the ministry, he was faithful thereto, and made helpful to many. His engagements in the exercise hereof, occasioned him to be much from home, yet his regard to his family was becoming, both as an husband and father; it was his frequent practice to sit down with them to wait upon the Lord, and we believe his faithfulness therein was of considerable service.

In the year 1755 he obtained a certificate from the monthly meeting of Burlington, in New Jersey, to visit friends in England, and having settled his temporal affairs, he embarked the 29th of 4th month, same year, and landed in the south of England, in the 6th month following. He proceeded immediately to London, where he had very good service. From thence he went directly to York, being desirous to be at the Quarterly Meeting for that county; at the opening of which in the meeting of ministers and elders he had a very weighty opportunity in ministry; but in the succeeding meetings for worship was mostly silent. In the meetings for discipline he was divinely led to set forth the nature, good end and tendency of the same, and very zealously pressed the keeping them up in the same wisdom and power, in which they were first established, evidently setting forth, that they proceeded from that which gathered

our

C H A P our forefathers to be as a peculiar people unto
VIII. God.

1756

From York he travelled through many parts of the north of England, and had meetings in divers places, several of which were very large; yet he was often led to famish the too eager desire after words, being often in these great meetings totally silent, which though a great disappointment to many for the present, yet there afterwards appeared a signal service in it. He arrived at Norwich in the 11th month, where he was made instrumental in a very particular manner to the help and furtherance of some, whom it hath pleased the Lord to visit with a fresh visitation of his love. From Norwich he returned to London, visiting many meetings in his way thither. He remained in this latter city a few weeks, being exceeding ill, yet was at most of the meetings there, and was very serviceable in affairs particularly relating to the society in Pennsylvania, at that time. From London he went back to Essex, and through several other counties to Bristol; his indisposition still continuing, but it did not hinder him from travelling or attending meetings. From Bristol he passed through some parts of Gloucestershire, Wiltshire and Oxfordshire, and got to the yearly meeting in London, in 6th month, 1756, and although his illness continued upon him, he was enabled to bear several living testimonies, in the demonstration of the spirit and of power. From London he came down to the yearly meetings at Colchester and Woodbridge, at the latter of which, at the last public opportunity which he had, he was strengthened to bear a large, powerful and affecting testimony, to the tendering of many hearts,

hearts, whose states were so effectually spoken C H A P.
to, as that it may be fitly compared to the ex- VIII.
cellency and glorious situation which the psalm-
ist described, when he says, " How good and
" how pleasant a thing is it for brethren to
" dwell together in unity ! it is like the precious
" ointment upon the head, that ran down upon
" the beard, even Aaron's beard, that went
" down to the skirts of his garments. As the
" dew of Hermon, and as the dew that descend-
" ed upon the mountains of Zion ; for there
" the Lord commanded the blessing, even life
" for evermore," Psalm. cxxxiii. 1, 2, 3.
It was indeed a remarkable season, in which he
was wonderfully led to set forth the progressive
steps the Almighty was pleased to make use of,
in appearing to Gideon, confirming him in the
certainty of his requirings, condescending to grant
his requests in a very peculiar manner, and sealing
them with his presence, and giving him victory
over his enemies, as he was faithful to follow
the blessed author, that pointed out the begin-
ning as well as finishing that great work to
which he was called. This memorable service,
there is reason to believe, was of great use, and
long remembered by many present.

He continued very weak in body all the time
of his stay at Woodbridge, being about five
days, and no persuasions could prevail upon
him to continue there, being very desirous to
see friends of Norwich again, having said, " he
" thought he could willingly die with them." Soon
after he got thither, he took to his bed ; and to several friends who visited him, he expressed, " that he was satisfied he was in his
" place, in giving up to follow the requirings of
" the

C H A P. "the Lord, in leaving his outward habitation,
VIII. " and those near blessings of a most tender af-
1756. " fectionate wife, and dutiful children." The
 severity of his illness kept him mostly delirious,
 yet he was favoured with some clear intervals;
 in one of which, being in a sweet heavenly frame
 of mind, he broke out in the following fervent
 supplications, "Oh, this poor soul hath been
 " for many days on the brink of the pit of
 " distress; but thou, dear father, dost not
 " afflict thy children willingly, but for some great
 " and good cause, known only to thyself. Dear
 " Father! suffer not thy children ever to de-
 " spair of thy mercies, but that we may be
 " helpful, as much as may be in our power, to
 " one another, in all such times of trouble.
 " Dearest Father, thou hast been pleased to
 " open, and to favour with thy goodness: my
 " soul is thankful, and can say, thou art worthy
 " of glory and praise for evermore." He contin-
 ued to the 13th of 7th month, 1756, and then
 departed this life, and no doubt rests with the
 spirits of the just made perfect, in those glorious
 mansions prepared for all who faithfully perse-
 vere to the end. He died at the age of 49
 years, having been about fourteen years a mi-
 nister.

1758. On the 26th of 1st month, 1758, died in Lon-
 don, in the course of a religious visit, Abraham
Account of Abraham
Farrington. Farrington of New Jersey, in America. He was
 born in Buck's county, in the province of Pen-
 sylvania, of parents professedly the truth, as held
 by this people. His father died when he was
 an infant, soon after which his mother married
 out of the society, which exposed him to a very
 irregular education. At ten years old he was
 put

put apprentice, where he suffered much bodily hardship, and very great danger to his better part, during a servitude of eleven years; yet the good hand of the Almighty was with him for his protection and preservation. He for some time took great delight in reading the bible; and though fond of youthful vanities, yet he was careful every night to repeat those forms of prayer which he had learned, 'till he grew afraid to say them any more, and seemed like one abandoned by God for several years. When he served out his time, he became a resident in the house of one of this society. The family were very exemplary in their conduct, and treated him with great kindness. He thought them the best people he was ever acquainted with, careful of their words and actions, yet cheerful and pleasant in their demeanour, so that he thought he must become a Quaker. Here we have a striking instance of the efficacy of the silent preaching of a good example. Soon after his forming this resolution, at a meeting of this people, a friend preached with much divine power, reaching the witness in his conscience, and speaking intelligibly to the state of his mind; but, too much after the manner of the world, he gave that praise to the creature, which was due only to the Creator, thinking within himself, "This is a brave man, he preaches well; I wish I lived near him, that I might go to hear him every first day." But he was little attentive what this preaching directed him to, Christ in himself, the true teacher. Afterwards he frequently attended the meetings of friends, and became very conversant in their writings. One of these meetings was attended

CHAP. by Thomas Wilson and James Dickenson, by
VII.
1758. whose ministry, his state was so plainly spoken
to, as effectually to shew him how the account
stood between God and his soul, and abiding under
the divine power, in the Lord's time he
came to witness the work of sanctification to be
carried on; and when fully fitted thereto, was
called to bear a public testimony to others of
what God had done for his soul.

He often travelled abroad on the American
continent in the service of truth, much to the
satisfaction of those whom he visited. At times
his outward circumstances were difficult, whereby
an opportunity was afforded him to shew an
example of christian resignation; and to see its
effects in divers providential assistances.

In the year 1756 he obtained a certificate
from the monthly meeting of Burlington, in
New Jersey, of which he was a member, to visit
friends in Great Britain, for which he felt a
concern on his mind for upwards of ten years.
After a voyage of four weeks, he landed in Dub-
lin, and visited the meetings of friends through-
out the kingdom of Ireland, faithfully labouring
to strengthen the brethren, and assist in build-
ing up the waste places in Zion. His service
there was weighty and truly acceptable. From
thence he came over to England, visited
many of the northern parts, and thence came up
to the yearly meeting in London. He after-
wards visited many other parts of the nation to
the comfort and edification of friends, and return-
ed to London, about the close of the year 1757.
Having travelled with great diligence, and la-
boured with fervency, his health was impaired,
yet he attended meetings 'till his disorder so en-
creased

creased as to render him incapable of further public service.

C H A P.
VIII.

His conversation was innocently cheerful, yet grave and instructive; he was a man of a weighty spirit, and valiant for the cause of truth; a sharp reprobate of libertine professors, but tender to the humble and contrite ones; strong in judgment, sound in doctrine, deep in divine things; often in a clear and lively manner, explaining the hidden mysteries wrapt up in the sayings of Christ, the prophets and apostles; and it may be truly said, he was a scribe well instructed unto the kingdom, bringing forth out of his treasure things new and old.

His ministry was in plainness of speech, and attended with divine authority, reaching the witness of God in man, and to the habitation of the mourners in Zion; frequently pointing out, in a lively manner, the paths of the exercised travellers, and the steps of heavenly pilgrims, by which he was made helpful to such as were seeking the true rest, which the Lord has prepared for those who love him.

His distemper encreasing, he was confined to his bed, at the house of Thomas Jackson, in Devonshire Square, where all necessary care was taken of him. During his illness he was very tender in his spirit, and remarkably patient. He uttered many heavenly expressions and several times said, he apprehended his time in this world would be but short; and seemed fully resigned to quit this mortal state, having an evidence, that he should be clothed with immortality and be united to the heavenly host.

C H A P.

VIII

1758.

He had been frequently heard to say, in time of health, that he thought he should lay down his body in this nation, and see his friends in America no more.

He departed this life like a lamb, without sigh or groan, as one falling into a deep sleep, at the age of sixty six years. His body was carried to Devonshire house, where a large and solemn meeting was held; from thence to friends burying ground at Bunhill-fields, accompanied by a large concourse of people, and there interred among the remains of many of our primitive worthies.

1758.
Case of
Daniel
Hollis.

Daniel Hollis, an ancient friend of Whippingham parish in the Isle of Wight, died in this year a prisoner in Winchester jail. In the year 1708, he was prosecuted in the ecclesiastical court, by the church wardens so called, for a few shillings charged on him in their rate, for non-payment whereof, he was, in the year 1709, committed to Winchester jail, where he remained a prisoner until discharged by a general act of grace. In about 50 years there had been taken from him on account of tithes and offerings by warrants of distress; corn, hay, cattle, &c. to above the value of 700*l.* whereof about 140 was more than the total amount of all the original demands. It had been customary for constables before the year 1757, to distrain considerably more than the sum claimed for tithe, and the charges allowed by law amounted to, which additional money the parson used to take for his pretended extra expences; but William James, constable of the East Medine in the said island, who distrained for tithes in the year 1756, refusing to distrain any more for the parson, than what

what the justices had adjudged to be due to him, C H A P. VIII.
and the charges allowed by law, with which
John Gilbert, the old rector of the parish of
Whipingham, not being satisfied, he brought
an action against the said constable for what he
demanded beyond the tithes and legal charges,
in which suit the parish being cast, was obliged
to pay the constables cost.

In the year 1758, the said John Gilbert pre-
ferred a bill in the court of Exchequer, against
Daniel Hollis, for tithes for one year to Michael-
mas, so called, 1757, and obtaining an attach-
ment, the son of the priest, being an attorney,
together with a sheriff's officer, went to the
house of the said Daniel Hollis: Daniel, by rea-
son of his great age, was become so feeble as to
be scarce able to help himself. They violently
pulled him from his bed, and dragged him down
stairs, whereby he was bruised; they then left
him in the house. But afterwards, viz. on or
about the 1st of 11th month, in the same year,
he was taken out of his house and conveyed to
Winchester jail, where he was at first confined
in a public thoroughfare-room, very incommo-
dious to him and his daughter, who attended
him; but by the favourable influence of a jus-
tice of the peace, who had been his landlord, he
was in a few days removed into a more com-
modious room, in which he was daily fed
from the said justice's table. After he had been
a prisoner about a month, a supersedeas was ob-
tained from the court for his discharge; but
when it came to the prison, he was so ill with
the bruise he received when dragged down
stairs, and by increase of his weakness, that he
was not fit to be removed, and desired those
about

C H A P. about him not to attempt it. And to one, who
VIII. offered him the use of a chariot, to carry him to
1758 Southampton, he said he had a shorter passage,
 and should be soon at his journey's end, requesting
 he might not be disturbed, he said he was
 very easy, and having forgiven his prosecutor,
 he in a tender resigned frame of mind, departed
 this life in prison the 11th of 12th month, 1758
 aged about 97 years. His corps was as he de-
 sired, interred in friends burial ground at New-
 port, in the Isle of Wight.

1760. On the 15th of 5th month, this year, died
Account of William Pitts. William Pitts of Southwark. In his young
 years he was visited with a call of divine grace,
 and by adhering thereto and submitting to its
 operations, he became convinced of the essen-
 tial doctrines of christianity, as professed by this
 people. In his minority he was educated by a
 priest, under whose tuition he attained a con-
 siderable knowledge in several of the learned
 languages ; yet the tender scruples which were
 raised in his mind, under the clear conviction
 of the impropriety of the needless ceremonies
 and salutations in which he had been educated,
 exposed him to many sufferings from his father,
 whose unkind treatment he endured with much
 patience and fortitude. This tended much to
 his growth and advancement in religious expe-
 rience and preparation for further service.

We find no particular account of the time of
 his joining this religious society ; but that after
 much conflict of mind for three years, from the
 importance of the weighty service, he came
 forth in the work of the ministry in the year
 1738. His service herein through the remain-
 ing part of his life was very great, his heart be-
 ing

ing fully given up to do whatever his hands C H A P. might find to do, as was evident from his own VIII.
expressions to some friends who visited him in
his illness, whom he encouraged to faithfulness,
saying, "that for the last twenty years, he had
“ never omitted one service which had appear-
“ ed to be his duty, and he had now the com-
“ fort and satisfaction thereof," or words to
that effect; and his talents and qualifications
were employed to the glory of the Giver.

In the fourth month, 1760, he set out to visit friends in Buckinghamshire and some parts adjacent, but being much indisposed, he returned homewards, and was suddenly taken very ill at a friend's house at Uxbridge, during which he uttered the following expressions, "O my Father, my Father! be pleased to be with me in my affliction," and said he believed, "that his time in this world would be short, and "that he should die of his present illness, but "that he was resigned to the will of providence, for he coveted not length of days, and "was easy in body and mind." Being asked how he did, he said, "I am very weak in body, "but I have a great Physician in heaven, who "is merciful to me in this illness." At another time he said, "if it pleased God, he had "rather die than live, unless he had any further service for him to do," and he could rejoice saying, "O death, where is thy sting? O grave where is thy victory?—the sting of death is sin and the strength of sin is the law; "but thanks be to God who giveth us the victory." Many friends from London and elsewhere went to visit him, which he took very kindly, and to one of them he expressed himself in the following manner, "I never coveted "riches

C H A P. " riches nor power ; and indeed if I had obtained
VIII. " them, what could they, or all the friendships
1760. " of the world do for me now ? Nothing but
" the testimony of a pure conscience and the in-
" ward sense of divine favour, can comfort my
" soul in these moments ; and thanks be to my
" heavenly Father, I feel his supporting arm
" underneath, and it is a rest indeed, a joy
" that overcomes all ; it makes this bed easy,
" and enables me to bear calmly and without
" complaint, the dispensations of his gracious
" providence ; I wish for nothing to myself
" otherwise than it is. I accept with satisfa-
" tion and thanks the kindness of my friends ;
" in compliance with their request, and think-
" ing it my duty to do what may be in my
" power, I take the medicines prescribed, which,
" though it may not seem meet to providence
" in his wisdom, to render instrumental in the
" restoration of health ; yet through his bles-
" sing, they have so far succeeded, as to remove
" the sense of acute pain. To be thoughtful of
" and prepare for this trying time, have I fre-
" quently and earnestly exhorted others ; not
" without considering and knowing the many
" and strong temptations of this world, which
" however, as we are obedient to the spirit of
" Christ, we shall be enabled to overcome ;
" that in the conclusion they might have this
" answer of peace, this divine consolation of
" mind ; and it always appeared best to me, to
" do this in great love and gentleness, so that
" I might persuade not force them to Christ.
" When this time comes, it will be found hard
" work, without any additional weight, to strug-
" gle on a dying bed with the pangs of the
" body.

“ body. But how much more to be lamented
 “ is the condition of those, whose consciences
 “ accuse them with having enriched themselves
 “ by oppressing the poor and helpless; and
 “ when in an unprepared state, after a life of
 “ rebellion and hardened in iniquity, such must
 “ feel the terrors of a guilty mind, added to
 “ the agonies of a perishing body.”

C H A P.
VIII.
1760.

A friend who went to visit him, the day before his death, asked him how he did; after a short pause he said, “I am waiting for my great change; O my Father, be pleased to be with me, and comfort me in my last moments.” The last words he was heard to speak, were these, “There is a great God in heaven, who is Zion’s king, O Zion, O Zion, O thou great King of kings!” Soon after which he departed in great tranquillity and composure, aged about 51 years, having been a minister 22 years.

The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle produced rather a temporary suspension of arms than a solid peace; for though peace appeared for a season to be secured in Europe, hostilities between France and England were still carried on both in America and the East-Indies, which in a few years involved England in another long and troublesome war, which carried but a gloomy appearance at the beginning, the English receiving sundry defeats and disappointments; but afterward they were more successful and terminated the war with great advantage over their enemies. During the continuance thereof, and amidst a train of successes by sea and land, the king died suddenly in the 77th year of his age,
Death of
king
George II.
 and

CHAP. and 33d of his reign, October 25th 1760, much
 VIII. lamented by his subjects.
 1760.

C H A P IX.

I R E L A N D.

*Account of John Dobbs.—John Ashton.—George
 Rooke.—Affirmation-act made perpetual.—Ad-
 dress to the King.—Account of Mungo Bewley.
 —Mary Peisley.*

C H A P.
IX.

1739.

Account of
John
Dobbs.

IN the year 1739, and the 80th of his age, died John Dobbs of Youghall, in the county of Cork, who although not engaged in the work of the ministry; yet his sincerity and self-denial, his peculiar sufferings, his stedfastness, and contempt of worldly possessions in comparison of peace of mind, appear to be too remarkable to be passed over unnoticed.

He was of a family of some account in the world, being the eldest son of Richard Dobbs near Carrickfergus, a counsellor at law, and a justice of peace of the county of Antrim, from whom as heir he was entitled to a considerable estate, of which he suffered himself to be deprived purely for the sake of religion. He possessed from an early age, a thoughtful and virtuous turn of mind. When he was about eleven years of age, his father in answer to an occasional

onal enquiry, signifying that he intended to educate him "for the clerical order and he did not know but Jonny might obtain a bishoprick." The child hearing this, says within himself, "It is a weighty matter to take the care of other men's souls upon me, it is well, if I can look well after my own."

C H A P.
IX.

1739.

He received an education in literature suitable to his rank in life, and the station he was designed for. After he had made a considerable proficiency in the Latin and Greek languages at school, he was removed to the university at Oxford, and applied himself to the study of physic. But being all along of a religious disposition, the loose conversation of his companions both at school and the university was irksome to him. When he was on his road to Oxford, he met with a discouraging observation from a person, with whom he casually fell into company at York, who remarked that there were many gentlemen, who were afraid of sending their sons thither, lest they should be corrupted; and he found there was too much ground for the observation; for when he came to Oxford, the profaneness of many of the students there, was quite disgusting to him. At first he put himself in the way of conversing with them, with a design to use his best endeavours to reform them, but soon found this to be labour lost; and being uneasy at his company here, he obtained liberty of his father to return home. Here also lying open to the company of the country gentry, their conduct and conversation became disagreeable to him, particularly as they were accustomed to indulge themselves in drinking too freely; wherefore he withdrew from their company, as thinking

CHAP. thinking their practice inconsistent with the moderation and temperance prescribed by the gospel.

1739.

IX.

Thus actuated by religious motives in circumspection and self-denial so to order his conversation in this life, as to obtain everlasting felicity in that which is to come, he conceived an aversion to an inordinate latitude in conduct, while innocence and integrity of life, was what he endeavoured after himself, and observed with satisfaction in others. This disposition drew him to look upon the people called Quakers in a favourable light, observing their chaste conversation coupled with fear. And his mother Dorothy Dobbs, having joined with those people, gave him an opportunity both to remark their circumspect walking, and to peruse several of their writings on religious subjects. But 'till the 19th year of his age, although he had an esteem for many of those he had knowledge of, yet he declined the thoughts of entering into their community, his father having threatened to turn any of his children out of doors, that should go to their meetings. John, at length, from the perusal of their writings, being impressed with a desire to hear their ministry; and Thomas Dockwra, a friend from England, having about this time appointed a meeting at Carrickfergus, John went thither, and was so effectually reached by his ministry, and convinced of the truth of his doctrine, that from this time he joined this society, and continued steadfast in community with them, through many severe trials.

For he, who had been a favourite of the family till now, upon his attaching himself to this despised people, found great alteration in their conduct

conduct toward him, especially in that of his C H A P. father, who first endeavoured by persuasion and flattery promises to bring him off from them; IX.
but he who had chosen the profession of truth, 1739. as it appeared to him, upon the best motives and clearest conviction, durst not act contrary to the conviction of his conscience, on any worldly consideration. His father exasperated by his declining to comply with his desire, had recourse to rougher means, and treated him with great severity, keeping him a prisoner in his house, above half a year, in the years 1683, and 1684, during which confinement, at a certain time meeting him with his hat on, he beat him grievously on the head with his cane, to that degree, that he fell into a fever upon it; nor did he ever entirely get the better of the injury received thereby. His mother, who had been his constant friend and protectress under all his hardships, died while he was yet young. His father would not admit him into his presence; and now having none in the family to compassionate his case, or give him the least countenance, and seeing no likelihood of a reconciliation, he thought it best to leave his father's house, where his presence was disagreeable, and went to London, where he learned chymistry with Charles Marshall, and made a further progress in the study of physic, after which he returned to Ireland, and practised it with reputation, good success and great christian charity to the poor.

His father remained unreconciled to him to the last, and by his will disinherited him, leaving his estate of several hundreds per annum, to his younger son, and cut him off with 10*l.* per annum,

CHAP. annum, during life, to keep him (as he express'd it) from starving, or relying on these seducing people. This pittance was but indifferently paid by his brother, to whose prodigality the income of the whole was inadequate, whereby he involved the estate; but his son, being a better œconomist, voluntarily doubled his uncle's annuity, and paid it punctually.

1739.

His integrity, his consistent and circumspect conversation gained him much respect and affection among his friends, by some of whom he was urged to have recourse to the law for the recovery of the family estate, as his birthright, and assistance offered him for that purpose. Whereupon he commenced proceedings at law; but not feeling that inward peace with Christ, which he preferred to all worldly possessions, in this first step of litigation, he put a stop to all further proceedings, and rather chose to confide in God without it.

He retained his integrity to the last period of a long life, in faithfulness toward God, and a blameless conversation among men. Having given up all that the world reckons valuable, to yield obedience to the discoveries of Christ in his own conscience; he was favoured in return with what all the world cannot purchase, solid peace of mind, and the internal testimony of an approving conscience, under the possession whereof, he little regarded how little noise the world made about him, being a man who declined popularity, and was more in substance than appearance. *Bonus esse maluit quam haberi.* He aimed not so much to appear a good man, as to be one. At the age of 80 he terminated a well spent life, and his last moments exhibited

ed

ed an affecting instance of that serenity, thank-^{C H A P.}
fulness and joy, wherewith the true christian ^{IX.}
takes his final leave of this world, in full assur- ^{1739.}
ance of going to live for ever in a better.

This year, John Ashton of Killconinmore, in ^{1741.}
the county of Tipperary, died in the 80th year ^{Account of}
of his age; a man, who, though not eminent for ^{John Ash-}
ton.

great and shining parts, was a bright and shin-
ing light in the country where he resided; of
great humility and fervour of spirit, for the pro-
motion of piety; much beloved and esteemed by
his neighbours and friends.

He was born in Cheshire, and brought to Ire-
land when a child by his parents, who educated
him according to the way of the church of
England, of which he continued a member 'till
near the 40th year of his age. Being desirous
of farther discoveries of the knowledge of God
and way of salvation, he with his wife went to
a meeting of friends at Birr, when both of them
were convinced by the powerful and efficacious
ministry of Thomas Wilson; and were obedient
to the manifestation of truth in their hearts.
Coming out of the meeting they said to each
other, "The way of everlasting happiness has
" been clearly laid down before us, and we are
" resolved to walk in it, come life or come
" death."

Not long after he was thrown into prison, for
his christian testimony against tithes, where he
was kept six months, which he bore with exem-
plary patience and resignation; and being al-
ways used to industry and an enemy to idleness,
he learned to make gartering and laces, for his
support during his imprisonment.

When

CHAP.
IX.
1741.

When at liberty he and his wife constantly attended the meeting at Birr twice a week, generally walking thither on foot, about seven miles of a very bad road, having a river to wade through both going and returning. In winter in crossing this river, they sometimes had the ice to break, and John frequently wept to see the blood on his wife's legs in coming through it.

This good man took great pains to get travelling friends to appoint meetings at his house; and then would ride several miles, often in the night in winter weather, to acquaint people of it; which labour of his was blessed, many coming to the meetings, and several being convinced thereat. In a little time a meeting was settled there, which soon grew larger than that of Birr, out of which it sprung.

At the time of his joining this society, he was but low in his worldly circumstances; but through industry and the blessing of heaven he grew rich, and did abundance of good, being singularly hospitable and charitable, ready to distribute, willing to communicate.

About the 62d year of his age, his mouth was opened in a public testimony for truth, in which he faithfully laboured for the stirring up the pure mind, and encouraging that which was good in all; and was zealously concerned against vanity and pride.

In the year 1733, he went to the yearly meeting at London, and from thence paid a religious visit to several meetings in different counties in England, as also to the meetings of friends in Scotland.

He

He was helpful and serviceable in visiting the families, throughout the extensive monthly meeting of which he was a member; his heart and house were always open to receive friends; he was a mourner with the afflicted, and full of compassion to the poor, by whom his death was greatly lamented.

This year, died George Rooke of Dublin. He was the son of Thomas Rooke of Boulton, in Cumberland. He had been educated in the church of England, but about the 20th year of his age, being convinced of the truth of the doctrine preached by John Greaves, a minister among the people called Quakers, he joined himself in society with them. About the 25th year of his age, his mouth was opened in public testimony; and he became engaged to travel abroad in the work of the ministry, zealously and cheerfully devoting his strength and youthful days, to the propagation of the gospel, and promotion of truth and righteousness in the earth. In the year 1679, he travelled on foot to Scotland on this account, accompanied by Peter Fearon. In the year 1681, he visited friends in all their meetings in Scotland a second time, and the same year came to Ireland, and visited most of the meetings of friends through the nation, as he did also in the year 1684. Some time after his return, visiting friends in Westmorland and Durham, he had a meeting at Stockton, where the mayor of the town sent one of his officers to bring George before him, and when he came tendered him the oaths of allegiance and supremacy: but because George for conscience-sake refused to swear, the mayor would have had him enter into bonds for his good behaviour, and to appear at the next Quarter Sessions. George told him,

CHAP.
IX.

1741.

1742.

Account of
George
Rooke.

C H A P " he was already bound to good behaviour."
IX. The mayor asking him whether he had been before a justice of peace, he answered, " No, " but I am bound by my principle to be " have myself towards the king and all his " subjects, as becomes a christian." But as George persisted to refuse to enter into bonds, the mayor committed him to Durham jail, where he continued till the Sessions, when he was again committed and kept prisoner about a month longer, because for conscience-sake he could not swear.

In the year 1685, he visited friends of Ireland a third time, and again in 1686, when he married and settled in Limerick. He continued to travel abroad in the exercise of his gift; and indeed his ministry appears to have been clear and convincing, even among strangers, of which an instance occurred in his travels through Wales, at a meeting at Haverfordwest, one of his hearers, who had a right of the presentation of a parish, was so far affected by his preaching as to make him an offer of it: but he was not one of those ministers, who seek for reward or support from men.

He continued to reside in Limerick, in the years 1689 and 1690, in the troublesome times of the wars between king William and king James, and during the first siege; but before the second siege, while James's army had possession of the city, he removed with his family to Cumberland, but notwithstanding these troubles, he still continued laborious and fervent in spirit, in visiting the meetings of friends, and in the year 1692, again visited the brethren in Scotland.

In the year 1693, he returned to Ireland, and C H A P. settled in Dublin, where he continued to reside ^{IX.} the remaining part of his life, during which time, he frequently visited friends of the three provinces; and sometimes those in England and Wales, and was frequently at the yearly meeting of London.

1742.

He was a very diligent attender of meetings of worship and discipline, until disabled by infirmity of body. He was a man of good understanding, though but little school learning; of a sweet temper; in conversation pleasant and affable; an affectionate husband and father; a tender and sympathising visitor of the sick: he was a diligent and faithful minister, and his labours were often crowned with success, to the convincement of several, and the edification and establishment of others. In the exercise of his gift he was clear, solid and lively, even to extreme old age; in prayer living, reverent, weighty and concise: in his deportment meek and humble, not elevated by his gifts and good services; far from being desirous of exercising lordship over God's heritage, frequently declaring, that he did not judge ministers to be of an order above other men, and that he and all others in the ministry ought willingly to refer their doctrine to the divine witness in the consciences of the hearers. He was a diligent reader of the holy scriptures, and in his preaching a faithful quoter of them: he retained his integrity, as well as understanding and memory to his end, and departed this life in the 91st year of his age, and about the 67th of his ministry.

C H A P. This year, there being apprehensions of an intended invasion of England from France, friends drew up an address to the king signifying their fidelity and good affection to his person and government, which was as follows.

**IX.
1744.** To George II. King of Great Britain and the Dominions thereunto belonging.

The humble Address of his Protestant subjects, the People called Quakers, in the kingdom of Ireland,

‘ We thy dutiful and peaceable subjects, with hearts truly sensible of the many blessings and privileges we enjoy under thy paternal care and protection, beg leave at this critical conjuncture (when thy dominions are threatened with an invasion in favour of a popish pretender) to express our sincere and hearty abhorrence of all plots and conspiracies against thy person and government.

‘ Duty, gratitude and interest unite to engage us in a firm attachment to thy royal person, and the protestant succession in thy illustrious house; and we are determined, by divine assistance, to continue unshaken in these sentiments, and conformable to our known principles to do the utmost in our power for promoting the peace and welfare of this nation.

‘ The kind indulgence granted us by the legislature in our religious scruples, the free access we have had to the several chief governors of this kingdom since thy accession to the throne, and the readiness shewn for our relief, whereof we retain the most grateful and lively

lively sense, lay us under additional obligations of duty and fidelity.

‘ May the same divine providence, th t defeated the attempts of the enemies of our constitution in the rebellion against thy royal father, and which had lately protected thee in imminent danger, preserve thee and thy royal family from the wicked designs of all your enemies, whether foreign or domettic. May the Almighty guide thy councils by his wisdom, and render them effectual for the re-establishment of peace and tranquillity, and grant thee a long and prosperous reign over us. May the British throne be always filled with one of thy royal offspring, to transmit the blessings we enjoy to future ages.’

Signed in Dublin, in behalf of the said people, the 31st of the first month, called March, 1744.

The act of parliament for granting friends an affirmation in all, except criminal cases, and for qualifying for places under the government, and serving on juries, which was passed in the year 1736, was only temporary, and to expire at the end of the ensuing session of parliament, the present time was thought convenient to make early application for a renewal of the said act, without limitation of time, in the same manner as friends elsewhere enjoy it. Wherefore the friends who attended the last yearly meeting at London did there wait on the earl of Chesterfield, the lord lieutenant, requesting his advice and friendship in our intended solicitation, which he with great cheerfulness granted

1745.
Affirmati-
on-act re-
newed.

C H A P. granted them, and on his arrival here encouraged friends to petition the House of Commons, this session, for such an act as aforesaid, which they accordingly did with good success, for it passed both houses, *nemine contradicente*, and obtained the royal assent.*

1746. This year died Mungo Bewley, son of Thomas and Margaret Bewley, of Woodhall in Cumberland, from whence he came over to this kingdom, and settled at Edenderry in the King's County. He was favoured in his youth with a tender visitation of the love of God, and manifested early a fervent zeal for divine worship in the following instance: among his papers was found one which he wrote during the time of his apprenticeship, requesting of his master either to have his work previously allotted to him, in order that he might make preparation against the time of the week-day meeting, or that he might be allowed when his apprenticeship expired to pay for so much time as he should have spent at meetings: and he grew and prospered in the saving knowledge of the truth accordingly, and not long after his coming over to Ireland, a dispensation of the gospel was committed unto him, whereof he became an eminent minister, freely devoting himself to spend and be spent for the promotion of piety in the earth, being diligent in the exercise of his gift both at home and abroad, having visited friends in the service of the gospel in England, Scotland, Wales, Holland and America.

He adorned his ministry by a grave and solid behaviour; he was also a man of good understanding,

* For the words of the Affirmation, see page 260 this vol.

Account of
Mungo
Bewley.

standing, zealous in christian discipline, and serviceable in visiting the families of friends ; a man of integrity and firmness, industrious in business, upright in his dealings, and careful in the religious education of his children ; cheerful and edifying in conversation, compassionate and liberal to the afflicted ; a nursing father to young travellers in the way to Zion, yet not hasty to lay hands suddenly on such as were more in shew than substance, being of a discerning spirit ; and notwithstanding these good qualifications, he was very humble-minded with respect to himself.

He continued lively in the exercise of his gift to the last, finishing his christian course in the 70th year of his age, and about the 40th of his ministry.

In the year 1757, the society in general and friends of Ireland in particular met with a considerable loss in the sudden removal of a very eminent minister of the female sex, Mary the wife of Samuel Neale, formerly Mary Peisley.

She was born the 19th of 9th month, 1717, near Mountrath in the Queen's County, of parents who were members of this religious society.

In her early days she was a lover of gaiety and vanity ; but being favoured with the visitation of divine love, she gave up to the heavenly vision, and was enabled to take up the cross to her natural propensities, and finally to obtain the victory over the temptations under which youth are too apt to fall, the vanity and pride of life.

From the time of this effectual visitation of Christ to her soul, few adhered with more steadiness

1757.
Account of
Mary
Peisley.

CHAP. ^{IX.} ness to his guidance, nor endured a variety of probations with more patient resignation. Having received a gift in the ministry, she became a vessel of honour in the master's house; and being reverently, watchfully and lively exercised therein, she became a shining ornament in the church, and an useful member of the society where her lot was cast. Yet through religious fear, she was particularly careful of appearing too forward; so that her offerings were like fruit in its season, to the honour of the Lord and to the edification of his church. She was a diligent labourer in spirit for the subjection of self, and the prevalence of divine life; and as she was very careful to rise up in that life, so was she likewise to sit down in it. Her reverent solidity and patient waiting upon the Lord in meetings were very exemplary, striking the beholders with awful solemnity.

The equable tenor of her spirit and uniformity of her conduct in the common occurrences of life were truly edifying to those who were acquainted with her; her deportment being weighty, and her words few but filly spoken, evidencing that her conversation was in heaven, and tending to draw the minds of others thitherward. She was often drawn forth in the pure love of God, to administer a word in due season in the families of friends, particularly to the youth. In the discipline of the church, her services were great; so that, though young in the ministry, she stood in the authority of truth as an elder, and as a pillar in the Lord's house, bearing the weight of opposition from perverse spirits, without giving way; the divine power being

being her shield, and the munition of rocks the c H A P.
habitation of her soul. IX.

Under a lively concern for the welfare and honour of every part of the society, she was at times qualified to impart suitable counsel to her brethren and sisters engaged in the ministry and discipline, "That they might have a single eye to the glory of God, to prefer his service before their own, and to get their days work well done in the day-time." She freely gave herself up to spend and be spent, and to pass through various perils by sea and land. She twice visited the meetings of friends throughout the kingdom of Ireland; once those through England; and once visited friends on the continent of America; much to the satisfaction of the visited in those parts, as appears from the accounts received concerning her services.

Soon after her return from America, our dear friend Samuel Neale and she laid their intentions of marriage before the monthly meeting of Mountmelick, to which she belonged; after which she found a concern on her mind to join in a visit to the families of friends throughout that extensive monthly meeting. After she had performed this service, she returned home; and on the 17th day of 3d month 1757, on a fifth day of the week, she was married to our aforesaid friend in the meeting of Mountrath. Samuel appeared in a very lively testimony at the beginning of the meeting, and at the conclusion in fervent supplication. The evening before the day of their marriage, in a religious fitting at her mother's house, Samuel was concerned to speak of the benefit of laying hold of every opportunity of renewing our strength

1757.

CHAP. strength, as the only way to lay up treasure
IX. against the day of trouble and disappointments
1757. incident to this uncertain stage. On the even-
ing of the marriage-day, in a like opportunity,
Mary was led to describe how the Almighty
formed the great works of creation in six days,
which having finished, he appointed a sabbath-
day of rest; and that there were present, who
would in a short time cease from their labours,
and enjoy the sabbath of rest. Thus remark-
ably did they speak to their own particular
states.

On the night, of seventh day the 19th of
the month, she was seized with a violent pain in
her stomach; notwithstanding which she lay
quiet and still in a retired awful frame of mind,
which clearly manifested her triumph over death
hell and the grave. About half an hour before
her departure, her pain being taken away, she
said; “I praise thy name, O my God, for this
“favour;” after which she breathed shorter
and shorter, and quietly departed without sigh
or groan, like one falling into a sweet sleep,
doubtless to enjoy that sabbath of rest, for which
she so ardently longed.

On fifth day, the 24th of the month, her
corps was taken to the meeting-house in Mount-
rath, where a large concourse attended, many
of whom had been present at her marriage on
that day week. A solemn meeting was held on
the occasion; many testimonies were borne in a
lively manner, to the circumspect life, holy zeal,
undaunted courage and faithful services of this
eminent instrument in the Lord’s hand, to pub-
lish his truth amongst the nations. At the conclu-
sion

sion, her late dear companion kneeled down by c h a p. the coffin that contained the remains of his most beloved earthly treasure, and prayed to God the Father in the demonstration of the spirit and baptizing power of the Son. At the grave he likewise bore a lively testimony to the people, another friend concluded the opportunity in prayer, when the body was committed to its original dust; the spirit having returned to God who gave it, to enjoy the reward of her well-spent life in the regions of eternal glory.

ix.

1757.

She died at the age of 39 years, having been a minister about 14 years.*

* The account of this valuable woman would doubtless have been much more fully given, had not my father been suddenly called from works to rewards. From the knowledge I had of my father's very great respect for her memory, I wished it to have been given very fully; I therefore applied to our dear friend Samuel Neale, for materials to supply the defects in the printed testimony, which he intended sending to me, when he likewise received a summons to enter into the joy of his Lord; whom he had for a long course of years served with fidelity; he died the 27th of 2d month, 1792.

John Gough, junior.

C H A P.

C H A P. X.

W E S T I N D I E S.

Some Convincement in the Island of Tortola.—Thomas Chalkley visits the Island and dies there.—The next Year John Cadwallader and John Estaugh visit it and die there.—Account of Thomas Chalkley.—Account of John Estaugh and John Cadwallader.

C H A P.
X.

IN the early times of this society, the islands in the West Indies were visited by some of their first ministers, whose love to mankind, and desire to promote their greatest interests, even those of immortality, and everlasting life, were strong enough to draw them through perils by sea, and perils by land, to publish the gospel of Jesus Christ, as the true light that enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world, whereby several were convinced of the truth of their doctrine, and converted to righteousness, in Barbadoes, Jamaica, Antigua, &c. many of these continued steadfast in their principles, and in an humble, self-denying life, 'till their death. But profanity and dissipation of manners, having too much the ascendency over the generality of the inhabitants of the islands, the discipline of the cross of Christ preached up and walked in by the

the faithful ministers and members amongst the people called Quakers, was too rigid or too contemptible for the people in general, and some of the descendants of friends in particular to submit to; and some families of this society having removed to England, their number is so greatly decreased, that few, if any of this profession, are now resident in these islands, and the visits thereto have become less frequent of later years than formerly.

Yet about the year 1740, account was received of a convincement in some of the Virgin islands, particularly the island of Tortola, which by the following paragraph of the yearly epistle of that year, appears to have been the effect rather of internal conviction, than of instrumental or ministerial labour, viz. "It hath pleased the Lord by the inshinings of the divine light, to visit the inhabitants of some islands, where no settled meetings of friends have formerly been, to the bowing and tendering of some of their hearts, as in the first breaking forth, and morning of our day; and to incline them to assemble together, and silently wait in spirit and in truth upon the Lord, their Redeemer, the unerring teacher, who teacheth his people to profit, and leadeth them by the way that they should go."

Amongst others, who were here convinced of the inward principle of light and grace, and submitted to profess themselves of, and to pass under the contemptible denomination of Quakers, was John Pickering, governor of the island, who continued a faithful member of this community to his death; and after his decease his family removed to England.

The

- C H A P.** The report of this conviction reaching the ears of friends on the continent of America, and in Great Britain, the minds of some were engaged in gospel love to visit them, confirm and strengthen them in their pursuit after true religion and righteousness.
- X.**
- 1740.** in Great Britain, the minds of some were engaged in gospel love to visit them, confirm and strengthen them in their pursuit after true religion and righteousness.
- 1741.** Thomas Chalkley from Philadelphia was the first who went on this gospel errand, in the year 1741; and was the next year followed by John Cadwallader from Abingdon, and John Eitaugh from Haddonfield, Pennsylvania. These friends were received with gladness, and treated with affectionate kindness by those they went to visit, amongst whom their ministerial labours were very consolatory, strengthening and edifying; but this island seemed unfavourable to their constitutions; they all three laid down their lives there in peace, and in the best service, in which a man can be engaged.
- 1741.** Thomas Chalkley was born in the borough of Southwark, of honest and religious parents, who being of the people called Quakers, brought him up in the same society, and were very careful both by example and precept to train him up in the sobriety becoming his profession. This religious care in his education, through the divine blessing and assistance, had a good effect, as he was very early tinctured with a serious turn of thought and of behaviour, an abhorrence of profane and wicked expressions, insomuch that while he was yet a child, he could not forbear to reprove such boys as used ill language, and took the sacred name in vain, by putting them in mind of the third commandment, some of whom would receive his reproof in good part, and some with contempt and derision.

Account of Thomas Chalkley. Thomas Chalkley was born in the borough of Southwark, of honest and religious parents, who being of the people called Quakers, brought him up in the same society, and were very careful both by example and precept to train him up in the sobriety becoming his profession. This religious care in his education, through the divine blessing and assistance, had a good effect, as he was very early tinctured with a serious turn of thought and of behaviour, an abhorrence of profane and wicked expressions, insomuch that while he was yet a child, he could not forbear to reprove such boys as used ill language, and took the sacred name in vain, by putting them in mind of the third commandment, some of whom would receive his reproof in good part, and some with contempt and derision.

Yet he did not escape the temptation of indulging himself at times in playful diversions and levities incident to youth, by the world reckoned harmless; but (by the convictions of divine grace manifested to his understanding,) tending to divert and alienate the minds of youth from the due remembrance and awful regard of their Creator. Awakened by these convictions, he was reclaimed from such practices and pleasures, as he found were afterwards productive of painful sensations to his soul, and was enabled to bear the cross in christian patience and self denial in his youthful days. As he grew up to a state of maturity, and engaged in business, the cares of this world seemed like to embarrass his mind too much, and interrupt his progress in religious experience, whereby he lost that inward evidence of peace and divine approbation, which through obedience to conviction he had before enjoyed. This occasioned him great anxiety and a resolution to deny himself of the inordinate pursuit of the riches and honour of this world, rather than lose the favour of the Almighty. Being sensible that the pursuit of terrestrial acquisitions, which are lawful in themselves, and in some measure necessary, may be extended to an unlawful degree, and through want of watchfulness, may divert the mind from the steady following after the things that conduce to our future well-being; he was favoured with light to see the danger, and strengthened by divine grace to avoid it, to keep under the power of the cross, which mortified his affections to the world; and in a state of humility, and in obedience to the precept of Christ, to seek first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness, having faith

C H A P. X. faith in his promise, *that all things, necessary for him, should be added.*

1741. Being thus weaned from the love of the world, the love of the Father influenced his mind with greater degrees of strength, opened his understanding with clearer perceptions of his will, advanced his progress in the work of sanctification, and favoured him with abundant consolation of spirit, in reward of his fidelity; under the feeling whereof, a lively concern was raised in his mind for the good of mankind in general; that they, through repentance and circumspection of life, might be made partakers of the like precious favour; and for this purpose he apprehended it his duty to exhort his friends and others in a public manner to repentance and faithful obedience to the internal convictions of divine grace. He appeared as a minister among his brethren before he attained the age of 21 years, and his labours were acceptable to them and others, through the successive stages of his life.

He soon after travelled in the public exercise of his gift, through many parts of England, and into Scotland in the year 1697. In the course of the same year he felt an engagement on his mind to pay a like religious visit to his friends on the American continent; and having proposed his prospect to the consideration of friends of the monthly meeting of which he was a member, and obtained their approbation, and certificate of their concurrence and unity with his concern, he embarked at Gravesend the 26th of 10th month, 1697, and after a tempestuous voyage landed at Patuxent in Maryland the 1st of 2d month following. He spent near twelve months

months in America, in which time he visited the meetings of his friends generally in the several provinces from Virginia northward to New-England; where his ministry and conversation were acknowledged to administer comfort and edification to his faithful brethren, of whom he took his leave in near fellowship and mutual affection, and landed at Plymouth in time to reach the yearly meeting in London in 1699.

Shortly after this, he entered into the married state, which did not relax his diligence in fulfilling his ministry, for the edification of the churches at home and abroad; for in the course of the same year, he visited the counties of Surrey, Sussex and Kent, and afterwards passed over to Ireland in company with William Townsend, and visited the meetings of his friends of that nation in a general way, amongst whom their service was acceptable and satisfactory.

Soon after his return from Ireland, he removed with his wife to America and settled in Philadelphia, in which city and the vicinity thereof, he fixed his domestic residence for life. And here also he divided his time between an industrious application to his outward employment for the support of himself and his family, and the faithful discharge of his service in the ministry, for the propagation of piety and virtue; for which purpose he took many long journeys and voyages through the several English colonies on the American continent, and most of the islands in the West Indies; and in Europe through Great Britain, Ireland, Holland, and several parts of Germany and the adjacent northern kingdoms. In many of these places his ministry and religious labours were blessed with suc-

CHAP. cefs, of which several witnesses survived him,
X. who were convinced of the truth of the principles
1741. which he preached, became serviceable members of this society, and continued therein to the end of their lives.

But the proper reward of virtue is not abundance of goods of this world, but the prize in prospect of the righteous man, peace here and everlasting happiness hereafter. It pleafeth divine wisdom, whose ways are beyond the investigation of human understanding, to perfect the faith and exercise the patience of the best men, by suffering them to feel adversity in common with other classes of mankind: as to the contingencies of this life (in the words of Solomon,) *one event cometh to the righteous and the wicked.* This good man in his temporal affairs met with various trying casualties, losses and disappointments, not in consequence of any extravagance or indolence of his, being frugal without covetousness, and industrious in business without suffering an anxious care for temporals so to engross his mind, as to unfit it for, or prove an obstruction to his religious progress or his religious duties. Through various unfavourable and unforeseen events, heavy losses by sea and land, by fire and water, he was much reduced in his outward circumstances; yet being supported by conscious integrity, he did not sink under misfortune, but as the most likely means that offered for retrieving the state of his affairs, he betook himself to a sea-faring life, and made several voyages to Barbadoes, in quality of factor, and afterwards as master of a vessel, wherein he encountered many difficulties and dangers in order to provide for his family, and discharge his

his pecuniary engagements. From the year ^{CHAP.} ~~1727~~ ^{X.} to ~~1735~~ ^{1741.}, he frequently crossed the seas in the way of trade, mostly to Barbadoes and other West-Indian islands; once to Dublin, and last of all to London, where he sold his vessel and settled his affairs to satisfaction; joyful that divine providence (who seeing the integrity of his heart, and the honesty of his intention, had supported him through all his difficulties, and in the midst of outward troubles had often replenished his mind with inward consolation) had favoured him so far, as to grant him to see the end of his labour accomplished; he then purposed to decline trading any longer by sea, in which he had engaged not from choice, but expediency; not to accumulate wealth for himself, but to provide things honest in the sight of all men.

A heart influenced by pure religion, duty to God and love to mankind, steadfastly pursues the same important object in every vicissitude of life. This friend in his sea-voyages generally held religious meetings with the passengers and mariners on the first days of the week, and at convenient seasons on other days; he frequently exercised himself in reading the scriptures and other religious tracts, or in meditating and writing upon religious subjects for the edification of himself or others. Many pieces which he wrote at sea are convincing proofs that religious considerations were predominant above all others in his mind.

On shore his engagements in business did not abate his zeal to make use of all opportunities of visiting the meetings of friends as formerly, both in the neighbourhood of his residence,

C H A P. when at home; and in those parts whither his
X. business drew him.

1741. After he had settled his affairs and was discharged of the heavy load of care, which had long oppressed him, he spent several months in England exercising his ministerial labours for the last time, amongst his friends about London and Northward. Which service being finished, and a favourable opportunity occurring for returning home, he took his departure from England and landed at Philadelphia in the year 1736.

Although he had now passed his 60th year, and was at times afflicted with the asthma, he continued his religious visits to his friends in various parts of the American continent more or less every succeeding year of his life; and last of all in the year 1741 he embarked for Tortola under a concern to preach the free gospel, as way might be opened, to the newly convinced inhabitants of that island, for their confirmation and establishment in spiritual religion, as the way to salvation.

In this island he was joyfully received and hospitably entertained by John Pickering and his wife, where he diligently exercised himself in the faithful performance of the service which he came upon, being day by day employed therein, either in public meetings or in private visits to the families of the inhabitants; and these visits generally ended in a religious meeting, the people being so awakened and so desirous of being instructed in solid religion and the way of peace and salvation, that he could seldom pay a friendly visit but the rooms would be filled, or seldom depart without a season of worship, in which he was often engaged in ministry

Thomas
Chalkley
visits Tor-
tola.

nistry

nistry amongst them, to his own refreshment and c h a p.
the benefit of the audience. X.

Having thus profitably employed his time
for about seventeen days, on the 29th of 8th
month, he found himself indisposed, yet attend-
ed the week day meeting that day, and also
the meeting on first day following, wherein he
concluded his last labour in the words of the
apostle Paul, *I have fought a good fight, I have
finished my course; I have kept the faith;
henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of
righteousness.* His disorder proving a fever, in
three days terminated his labours with his life,
the 4th of 9th month, 1741, in the 66th year of
his age, to the great regret of his friends and
others, whose affectionate esteem and respect he
had in a peculiar manner engaged, during his
short stay amongst them, by his edifying minis-
try, his instructive and exemplary deportment,
and his universal benevolence and tenderness to
the inhabitants of the island, of every rank and
profession.

The character given of him by his friends,
amongst whom he lived, and who were witnes-
ses of his general demeanour, is this, that in dis-
appointments and afflictions, of which he had a
large share, his patience was remarkable: his
meekness, humility and circumspection in the
general course of his life and conversation were
conspicuous and exemplary; gentle, courteous
and loving in his deportment, not only to
friends, but to all others, with whom he had
conversation or dealing; few have lived so
universally beloved and respected amongst us.
He was a lover of unity amongst brethren, and
careful to promote and maintain it; yet his

love

C H A P. love and regard to peace, did not divert him
 X. from the discharge of his duty in a faithful tes-
1741. timony to those that professed the truth, that
 they ought to be careful to maintain good works.
 And he was often concerned zealously to incite
 and press friends to the exercise of the good or-
 der and discipline established in the wisdom of
 truth.

1742. John Estaugh, was born in Keldevon, in Essex
 Account of in Great Britain, anno 1676, of religious pa-
 John
 Estaugh. rents. As he advanced towards maturity, he
 grew uneasy with the religious professions of
 both his parents, they being of different per-
 suasions, and being religiously engaged to seek
 after the truth, he fell in with the Baptists,
 whom he liked so well, as to incline to join with
 them. But being at the burial of a neighbour,
 who had been one of the people called Quak-
 ers, a friend was led to speak with such life
 and power directly to his state, as to make a
 deep and lasting impression on his mind. This
 put him upon an enquiry into the principles of
 friends, of the truth of which he was so fully
 convinced, as to join the society about the
 seventeenth year of his age.

He came forth in the work of the ministry
 when about eighteen years old, and being faith-
 ful to the manifestations of duty, he grew in
 his gift, and soon after travelled to visit friends
 in the north of England and in Scotland, and in
 the year 1700, he came over on a religious visit
 to friends in America. After he had performed
 this visit to the great satisfaction of friends, he
 settled at Haddonfield in the county of Glou-
 cester, New Jersey, where he soon after mar-
 ried.

After

After he settled in America, he visited friends ^{C H A P.}
 in England and Ireland; and many parts of
 the continent of America; and several times
 paid visits to some of the West-Indian Islands;*
 but in the latter part of his life, he was prevent-
 ed by indisposition from much travelling. His
 good master, who requires no impossibilities, fa-
 voured him with ease of mind, and the comforts
 of domestic peace at home, during this his time
 of bodily infirmity. His wife who survived him
 testifies that she believes few if any ever lived
 in a more perfect harmony than they did. He was
 a pattern of moderation, not lifted up with any
 enjoyments nor cast down at disappointments.
 He was a man humble minded, and exemplary,
 solid and grave in his deportment, well becom-
 ing a minister of Christ, zealous for preserving
 good order in the church, and maintaining love
 and unity, that badge of true discipleship, re-
 markably careful in his conversation among
 men, his words being few and savoury.

After some years of indisposition, it pleased
 the Lord to restore him to a state of health; and
 soon after he had a concern to visit friends at
 Tortola. This brought on him a deep exercise,
 but when he was confirmed it was really re-
 quired of him, he gave up to it; and was then
 weaned from home, and the company there,
 which used to be so pleasant to him.

He first wrote to friends on that island; but
 finding that would not excuse him, he durst no
 longer delay; so on the 13th of 8th month,
 1742, he left his home to proceed on his visit
 to that Island. On the 8th of 9th month, he
 arrived at the house of John Pickering with his
 companion John Cadwallader, where they were
 received

* See page 149 of this vol.

CHAP. received with much love and great joy, being
X.
1742. made to rejoice together in the tender mercies
and love of God, which were greatly manifested
that day, to the honour and praise of his name,
and to the comfort of his people. The testi-
monies of these ministers were with life and
power, and as clouds of rain upon a thirsty
land.

The godly life and conversation of this friend,
of whom we are now giving a particular ac-
count, spoke him a true follower of the Lamb,
and minister of Christ. He had his health very
well, 'till the death of his dear companion; but
going to his funeral he caught his illness from a
shower of rain. However he was favoured
with the divine presence, so as to be able to an-
swer the service of that day; and the next be-
ing first day he was at meeting, and though near
his end, his candle shone as bright as ever, and
many that beheld it, were led to glorify God
on his behalf. This was the last opportunity
he had on the island, except his farewell on his
dying bed, where he both preached and prayed,
a short time before his departure.

On the next day he went to a little island
called Jos. Vandick's, accompanied by several
friends; on the third day in the morning, he
complained very much, but was enabled to go to
meeting, where he bore a lively testimony, but
from weakness of body, and extending his voice,
he was so inwardly spent, that he was ready to
faint. However he went on board the sloop
that night on his return to Tortola, where he
landed next morning. He had not been long at
his lodging before he was seized with a shiver-
ing fit, and a fever soon followed. The two
last

last days he suffered much pain, yet he was preserved under it in patience and resignation, and had his perfect senses to the last—On the 6th of 10th month, he went away like a lamb, with praises and thanksgivings on his lips in the 67th year of his age.

John Cadwallader, was convinced of the truth when young ; and by a diligent attention to its manifestations, became in some time a minister thereof to others. He travelled much in the exercise of his gift on the continent of America ; twice crossed the seas to Europe, and once to Barbadoes on the same account. His last visit was to the island of Tortola, in company with John Estaugh. He was taken ill on his passage thither, yet when he landed, proceeded in the service, upon which went, much to the satisfaction of friends there, as appears from accounts from thence. But his disorder increasing upon him, he departed this life in peace on said island, the 26th of 9th month, 1742, aged near 66 years.

X.

1742.

Account of
John Cad-
wallader.

C H A P. XI.

P E N S Y L V A N I A.

Original State of Pennsylvania.—Its long Enjoyment of Peace.—A due Regard to Religion the surest Foundation of a good Government.—The Prosperity of Pennsylvania under the Administration of the People called Quakers.—New Settlers excite Discontents.—The proprietary Governors endeavour to make Encroachments, which are opposed by the Assembly.—Whereby they conceive a Dislike to Friends.—The French instigate the Indians to war against the English Plantations.—Declaration of War.—Causes a popular Cry for warlike Preparations.—Militia-law for the lower Counties.—Address to the Proprietaries thereupon.

C H A P.
XI.

Original
state of
Pennsylva-
nia.

A. Bene-
zet.

PENNSYLVANIA from the excellent institution of its founder William Penn, in concert with the original planters, and the punctual adherence thereto, in the letter and spirit of it, by the succeeding assemblies and magistrates of the province, in the enacting and executing of useful laws, had enjoyed tranquility and security in the possession of religious and civil rights and immunities, exceeding any other government or nation whose history we are possessed of. The legislative and executive authority being in the

the hands of religious men (the greater number C H A P.
of whom were of the people called Quakers, XI.
although the universal toleration granted by
William Penn, admitted all denominations of
christians to offices of magistracy and to the
highest posts in the state) their laws and institutions
were directed to cultivate and maintain a
a lively sense of religion: and being themselves
examples of that sobriety, decorum, and submission
to salutary institutions and legal rule, not
for wrath but for conscience sake, which they
wished to disseminate amongst the different orders
of the people, a general harmony subsisted
between the inhabitants; and regularity, order
and due subordination resulted from this lively
sense of religion, to a degree far beyond that
merely effected by human policy or penal
laws.

That the welfare and happiness of the people
is the end of government, is a proposition main-
tained in theory in other states; but in Pensyl-
vania it was reduced to practice. A govern-
ment established on so equitable, liberal and useful
a plan, induced great numbers of people of
different persuasions, to emigrate from various
countries, to participate in the privileges and
felicity of this equal government, the basis of
which was religious and civil liberty: and for a A. Bene-
length of time, under the pleasing sensation of the zet.
ease, security and change for the better, they felt
from their removal hither, people of different
nations, complexions and ways of thinking, lived
together in a state of society beautiful in pros-
pect, and happy enjoyment, in mutually giving
and receiving the benefit of an equality of pri-
vileges in peace, amity, and benevolence, al-
though

C H A P. though not belonging to the same visible church,
XI. yet as belonging to the same fraternity of mankind. Universal liberty of conscience, and universal good-will to men, being in the estimation of the people called Quakers essential characteristics of the christian religion, have been adopted by them in their fullest extent, they hold none excluded from the favour of God on account of their religious persuasion, provided it be founded in his fear, and the love of mankind.

1755. By means of these excellent principles of government, and the just and equal administration thereof, through the favour of divine providence, Pennsylvania had enjoyed an almost uninterrupted peace from within and without for more than sixty years.

A due regard to religion the surest foundation of a good government Amidst the variety and fluctuation of opinions upon the subject of government, it appears evident to me, that it is virtue, simplicity of manners, and a reverent regard to religion, more than the particular form, which stamps it with the character of good and excellent; not but I admit some forms and some constitutions are better in themselves than others, and better adapted to promote the general good, yet we shall find, that wherever virtue, justice, and real religion are departed from and disregarded, the very best will go to decay. Those ancient republics which many so much admire, and extol, as perfect models of good government, were only so, while the people by the example of their superiors, were taught to be virtuous, frugal and temperate; but when opulence and vice had banished those good qualities, and introduced dissipation, luxury and a general corruption

ruption of manners, what scenes of human misery can exceed those produced by the collision of inflamed and hostile parties, by the cruelty and vengeance of their leaders, or the violent outrage of a licentious and ungovernable populace? So that most ages, states and nations, have verified the scriptural position, *Righteousness exalts a nation but sin is a shame* (and very often a downfall) to any people.

The industry, frugality and security of the original Pennsylvanians, made this colony as prosperous and flourishing during this period as it was peaceful. This flourishing state of the province, occasioned a great accession of people of different dispositions and views from the first settlers, who had resorted thither to share in its prosperity, which they had contributed nothing to. And many of these soon discovered, that they grudged the body of friends the rank and influence which they possessed in the state, and the place they had in the estimation of the people, although so justly entitled thereto; both on account of their being principally instrumental, through much expense, labour and difficulty, to reduce the wilderness into a fruitful land, and bring the province to its present state of prosperity; as also on account of the equity and cconomy of their government, which had proved them faithful guardians of the public weal: parsimonious in granting and rigid in requiring an account of the expenditure of the public treasure; limiting the salaries of public offices to a moderate and reasonable compensation for the labour and trouble thereof; peculation was a stranger here, and public taxation very light: under their government the people had been long

Its prosp-
erity under
the admini-
stration
of the peo-
ple called
Quakers.

C H A P.
XI.
1755.

C H A P. long contented and happy; so that it is no wonder that in general they regarded them with cordial esteem.

XI. 1756.

Envious persons fretting among them excite discontent. But those who envied them their power and influence, those who had in a great measure got possession or wanted to get possession of the posts of government they had enjoyed, and to reap the fruit of their labours, began to interrupt the peace of this peaceful state, and sow the seeds of discord and discontent by decrying the public measures of friends. As a self interested policy prevailed, that brotherly intercourse and mutual benevolence, which had so honourably distinguished the original colonists decayed: private interest and private views were more regarded by many than the public good, and gradually introduced jealousies, mistrusts and party-animosities, whereby the system of happiness, so long and so well maintained, suffered a lamentable reverse; and the manners of the people discovered an alteration for the worse.

The proprietary governors endeavour to make encroachments which the assembly opposes.

A principal cause of uneasiness to the people called Quakers and the ancient inhabitants of the province, seems to have arisen from the proprietary governors and their adherents, who did not pay that strict regard to equity and the constitutional rights of the people in all the departments of government, which during the life of the first proprietor and long after, had with little exception, harmonized the different orders of the state within itself, and gained it the reputation of wisdom and honour from those who attentively considered its excellency. The descendants of William Penn, who inherited his possessions and his power, do not appear to have inherited all his virtues, his disinterestedness, his

his faith, or his benevolence: they, and the governors under them on sundry occasions adopted self-interested maxims of government, and partial schemes of policy. Not contented with the power and emoluments the constitution allowed them, they had extended and wanted still to extend their prerogatives further; and such of the people called Quakers as were members of the assembly, in conjunction with others, conceived it to be their civil as well as religious duty in faithfulness to their constituents and in the conscientious discharge of their delegated trust, to adhere firmly to the salutary regulations and concessions agreed upon between the early settlers and William Penn, which stood as a guard and defence of the subjects rights, and as a bar against the encroachments and sinister designs of men lustng after the unequal emoluments they hoped for, from the attainment and exercise of an undue power and influence: Under these impressions the assembly opposed and withstood all further innovations and invasions of the constitutional rights of the people.

From this opposition to their selfish purposes, the governor and his partisans manifested a great dislike and enmity to the body of this society; and having the ear of the proprietaries, they exerted themselves by most unfair and unjust representations to impress them with very unfavourable sentiments of the society in general, and to create jealousies and distrusts between them and the colonists, to separate their interests and set them at variance, having perhaps more regard to their own views and power, which they sought to establish by these means, than either to the real interests of the province

Whereby
they con-
ceive a dis-
like to the
Quakers in
general.

C H A P. province or the proprietaries, which in the opinion of judicious men were united, and that they were no friends to either who endeavoured to separate them.

The French instigate the Indians to war against the English plantations,

Declarati-

on of war.

Causes a popular cry for warlike preparations in America.

The enemies of this society also sought occasion to accomplish their selfish designs, and about this time an opportunity presented. The hostilities of the French had been but little suspended by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in these remote parts; for while peace was ostensibly preserved in Europe, both in Asia and America hostile measures were carried on in a covert way, which discovered themselves in America by the incursions of the Indians into the back settlements of the English plantations, being instigated thereto by the French as was generally understood; who killed and scalped many of the inhabitants, and carried others into captivity. The French at the same time were busily employed in erecting a line of forts on the back of the English settlements and in places to the prior possession of which England laid claim. These infractions of a treaty so lately made, produced repeated complaints from the government of Great Britain without redress; they were principally answered by recriminations, so that at length the result was a declaration of war on both sides.

This circumstance furnished a plausible occasion to raise a popular cry for warlike preparations, which the people called Quakers were known to be principled against, and for their declining to enter into such measures they were treated with all the virulence of party rage: both the pulpit and the press were employed to calumniate and vilify them; they were represented

fended as unfit to take any share in government, and much violence and artifice of party were put in practice, with little regard to truth or justice, to deprive them of their reputation and their influence.

About this time means were used to get a law passed by the legislature of the lower counties on Delaware, for establishing a militia, and it seems to have been enacted in a temper, that paid no regard to the conscientious scruples of friends and others; but rather pointed to bring them under difficulties and sufferings. Upon this it was thought necessary to address the proprietaries with the following remonstrance, viz.

To Thomas Penn and Richard Penn, proprietaries of Pennsylvania, and the three lower counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex upon Delaware.

The Address of the People called Quakers, on behalf of their Brethren inhabiting the said lower Counties, respectively sheweth,

' That for above one hundred years past, we
' as a religious society have declared to the
' world, that we could not for conscience sake
' bear arms or be concerned in military prepara-
' tions; that for many years after our becoming
' a distinct society, we suffered many grievous
' and oppressive persecutions on account of our
' principles; that the prospect of being intirely
' relieved from such oppression, and of enjoying
' perfect liberty of serving God in the way they
' believed most agreeable to him, engaged many

CHAP.^c of our ancestors to leave their native lands, and
 XI. c come over to settle this, then a wilderness
 17th. c country, and though your honourable father's
 c principles were well known to be for intire
 c liberty of conscience, yet he and the first set-
 c tlers mutually thought it necessary to fix this
 c as a law before they came over, and accord-
 c ingly did, as appears by the 35th section
 c of laws agreed upon in England, May the 5th,
 c 1682, in these words.

“ That all persons living in this province,
 “ who confess and acknowledge the one al-
 “ mighty and eternal God to be the Creator,
 “ Upholder and Ruler of the world, and that
 “ hold themselves obliged in conscience to
 “ live peaceably and justly in society, shall in
 “ no ways be molested or prejudiced for their
 “ religious persuasion or practice in matters of
 “ faith and worship, nor shall they be compel-
 “ led at any time, to frequent or maintain any
 “ religious worship, place or ministry what-
 “ foever.”

“ That this was understood as the first and
 “ most fundamental part of the constitution ap-
 “ pears undoubtedly plain, from the solemn
 “ manner in which it is introduced, and the ge-
 “ neral expressions contained in the first clause
 “ of the charter of privileges, viz.

“ Because no people can be truly happy though
 “ under the greatest enjoyment of civil liberties,
 “ if abridged of the freedom of their consciences as
 “ to their religious profession and worship, and
 “ almighty God being the only Lord of consci-
 “ ence, Father of lights and spirits, and the au-
 “ thor as well as object of all divine knowledge,
 c faith

" faith and worship, who only doth enlighten C H A P.
 " the minds and persuade and convince the un- XI.
 " derstandings of people, I do hereby grant and
 " declare, that no person or persons inhabiting
 " in this province or territories, who shall con-
 " fess and acknowledge one almighty God, the
 " Creator, Upholder and Ruler of the world,
 " and profess him or themselves obliged to live
 " quietly under the civil government, shall be in
 " any case molested or prejudiced in his or their
 " person or estate, because of his or their con-
 " scientious persuasion or practice, nor be com-
 " pelled to frequent or maintain any religious
 " worship, place, or ministry contrary to his
 " or their minds, or to do or to suffer any other
 " act or thing contrary to their religious per-
 " suasion."

May it please the Proprietaries,

" Notwithstanding these plain and explicit words,
 " an act of assembly hath been lately passed in
 " the lower counties, entitled, an act for establish-
 " ing a militia in this government, whereby the
 " inhabitants are required to enlist, provide
 " themselves with arms and ammunition, to at-
 " tend with them at certain stated times, " in
 " order to be taught and instructed in the mili-
 " tary exercise;" with other injunctions of the
 " like kind and nature under certain fines and
 " penalties, without any exemption of those of
 " tender consciences, which in our judgment is
 " in direct repugnance to the clauses above re-
 " cited, because it enjoins certain acts and things
 " contrary to the religious persuasion of many
 " of the inhabitants.

CHAP. XI.
1756

‘ Our ancestors who did foresee the probable inconveniences likely to attend, had the greatest reason to esteem this interesting and important point inviolably secured to them and their posterity, both by the foregoing, and (if possible firmer still) by the following paragraphs of the same character, viz.—“ But because the happiness of mankind depends so much upon the enjoying of liberty of their consciences, as aforesaid. I do hereby solemnly declare, promise and grant, for me, my heirs and assigns that the first article of this charter, relating to liberty of conscience and every part and clause therein, according to the true intent and meaning thereof, shall be kept and remain without any alteration inviolably for ever, and if any thing shall be procured or done by any person or persons, contrary to these presents, it shall be held of no force.”

‘ We presume we need not say much more to you on this head, because we are informed that you have always given express instructions to your deputies that in case of making any militia law, they should take especial care that the charter be not infringed in this respect, it is therefore we have the greater cause to hope for your disapprobation of the act before mentioned, as far as concerns tender consciences, and we earnestly request it may be speedily declared, as the heavy fines laid on the officers for not putting it in execution, is without doubt, intended to oblige them to a strict observance of the several parts of it, and as it is possible this may come to your hands before you receive from your officers here, a copy of

‘ the

the said act, we have sent one certified under C H A P.
the seal of the office at New Castle; to our XI.
friends Richard Partridge, Thomas Jackson,
John Hunt and John Fothergill, whom we
have requested to communicate it to you, and
though our principal objection to the act arises
to its enjoining things upon some of the inhab-
bitants, which they are religiously persuaded
they neither can nor ought to do, yet we be-
lieve in your perusal of it you will see other
reasonable objections, in particular that the fines
for noncompliance, are so many and so much
in the power of rapacious officers, that they
may under the colour of it, take more (from
such as cannot for conscience sake comply)
than the produce of their labour, after
necessary allowance for clothes, diet, &c.
would amount to, as goods taken in conse-
quence of such oppressive measures, are gene-
rally sold much under their real value, which
if the law be so put in execution, must tend to
the ruin of the worldly substance of many in-
habitants, and the consequence of that to your
interest, we need not point out.

We sincerely desire that divine wisdom may
be plentifully afforded to conduct you through
the various difficulties attending your station,
to your own true peace, the prosperity of your
province and the glory of God.'

Signed at Philadelphia, 5th month 21st, 1756,
by a committee appointed by the yearly meet-
ing, for Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

C H A P.

C. H. A. P. XII.

PENNSYLVANIA CONTINUED.

En deavours used to deprive Friends of their Places in the Assem'ly.—They are misrepresented to the British Nation and Government.—General Meeting at Philadelphia.—Dead Bodies of some who had been murdered brought into the City.—Vindication of Friends.—Remarks upon the Indians, and the Methods of treating them.—Subscription for the suffering Inhabitants.—Meeting for Sufferings established at Philadelphia.

C H A P.
XII.

1756.

BY the misapprehensions and prejudices raised in the minds of the proprietaries concerning them, or by their voluntary resignation, few of the people called Quakers now enjoyed any share in the executive part of government; and to elude the force of that spirit of envy and rancour, which had been artfully excited against them, and for the peace and quiet of their own minds, several of them had avoided taking part in the legislature. On the approach of the annual election of this year, their adversaries exerted their utmost efforts to prevent the same members being re-elected, the press being set at work, to pour forth acrimonious and unjust invectives against them, in order to prevail with the electors to set them aside, and chuse their own partisans, or members who might be brought to act in a manner more conformable

formable to their views; but notwithstanding much the greater number of the inhabitants were not of their society, yet such was the confidence reposed in those Quakers, (so called) that the former representatives who had not declined the service were rechosen, by the greatest majority ever known, and this was done not only without the solicitations, but in some instances without the privity or approbation of some that were chosen, four of whom, being of those called Quakers, at the first meeting of the house resigned their seats, and a new election took place.

Their antagonists, filled with vexation at their disappointment, both in missing their aim in the election, and finding all their disingenuous efforts had made so little impression on the judgment of the electors, whose dependance on the tried integrity of their representatives, where their views and characters, and those of their adversaries were best known, was too firm to be easily shaken; next exerted their endeavours to carry their point, by misrepresenting them on this side of the Atlantic, where both the Quakers (so called) of America, and their accusers; their different views, principles and general conduct were less thoroughly known; for this purpose they drew up the most pointed invectives, and procured them to be printed in pamphlets and the English news-papers. In order as much as possible to prepossess the minds of the people with strong prejudices against them.

The general or half year's meeting was held in the third month of this year at Philadelphia in course, and notwithstanding the deeply exercising trials which affected this society at this time,

C H A P. time, they had a strengthening and edifying
XII. meeting, and, beside a great number of friends
¹⁷⁵⁶ from different parts of the country, it was at-
General, or tended by Samuel Fothergill and Catharine
half year's Peyton from England, and Mary Peisley from
meeting at Ireland; these being well qualified ministers and
Philadelphia. deeply experienced in the work of religion,
their service was very helpful and instrumental
to the consolation of their friends, and to the
confirmation of their faith, patience and stability
in their religious principles.

During the time of this meeting an incident occurred which affected friends with still more gloomy apprehensions. The Indians who had before ravaged some of the frontier settlements, about this time renewed their incursions on the back settlements of Pennsylvania, where they burned several houses and killed and scalped some of the inhabitants: this furnished an opportunity pleasing to the parties, who were clamorous for war, to promote their purpose, in order whereto, two or three of the dead bodies of those who had been murdered, were at this time brought in a waggon to Philadelphia, with a design to exasperate the citizens, and rouse them to tumult and vengeance. For they were taken before the State House door and from thence conveyed through several streets of the city, attended by a crowd of people cursing the Indians and the Quakers also, because they were backward to promote warlike measures for their destruction. The sight of the dead bodies and the outcry of the people were both very afflicting and alarming.*

The

* J. Churchman's journal.

The incursions and ravages of the Indians, C H A P. XII.
 and the dangers to which the frontier settlers were exposed, were much magnified, and furnished a plausible subject for more violent exclamations against the people called Quakers, and the absurdity of adhering to pacific principles, when the enemy was at the door: allegations of an alarming nature were now spread through the colonies, and through England, that the province would be ruined or absolutely lost, if speedy measures were not taken, to deprive the Quakers entirely of any share in the government: these representations of the state of this province met a ready reception and belief on this side; and the blame of the whole was laid upon this people, who in fact were the least culpable of any, and the least answerable for the present disturbed state of the colony, as having least contributed thereto.

For from their first settlement, and while the direction of public affairs was in their hands, the Indians were so far from making hostile incursions into any part of the province, that, being treated by them with a scrupulous regard to justice and with cordial hospitality, in return for the kindness they had received from them, they (the native inhabitants) lived with the Pennsylvanians on the most friendly footing, and regarded them with affectionate esteem. And had the succeeding governors and the people in general observed the like equitable and friendly conduct towards them, I believe these hostile incursions (into the frontiers of Pennsylvania at least) had never been heard of.

For notwithstanding some writers have represented the Indians as naturally stupid, ferocious, treacherous and the proper methods of treating them,

CHAP. treacherous and ungrateful : yet several of those
 XII. who had the opportunity of conversing amongst
 1756. them, and observing them more attentively, re-
 present them in a different character, as sensible,
 friendly, hospitable, faithful to their engage-
 ments, kind to the neighbouring Europeans,
 and very affectionate and peaceable in general in
 their own tribes and allies : but of quick sensi-
 bility to feel injuries, and of savage cruelty in
 revenging them*.

Therefore

* The first settlers of Pennsylvania who had full opportunity of being acquainted with the nature and disposition of the natives, and who made it a principal point to observe strict justice in all their transactions with them, have left us very favourable memorials of the long continued kindness they experienced from those people. The disposition of the Indians has generally been, to shew kindness to the Europeans in their early settlements ; and their mental powers are equally with our own capable of improvement. The apparent difference between them and us arises principally from the advantages of our education and manner of life. The early settlers of New Jersey have always confirmed the testimony of the Pennsylvanians concerning them, with respect to the good usage they met with from the Indians. The writer of the history of that province informs us "That for almost a century, the natives had all along maintained an intercourse of great cordiality and friendship with the inhabitants." (A. Benezet)

They manifest much stability in the engagements they have solemnly entered into ; patient in affliction, as well as in their submission to what they apprehend to be the appointment of providence ; in all which they manifest a nobleness of soul and constancy of mind, at which we rarely arrive with all our philosophy and religion. They are slaves neither to ambition nor interest

Therefore if the like prudence, justice, and friendly intercourse had been maintained in their conduct and commerce with the Indians, by their successors of this age, which had been done by William Penn, and the early settlers, I am persuaded these natives, instead of hostilities would have continued to cultivate the like amicable disposition towards them, as they had done to their predecessors; and that it would not have been in the power of the French in that case, by all their artifice, to have incited them to hostile measures against the English plantations, if the English themselves had not by their neglect and unfair dealing, furnished their enemies with a handle of which they well knew how to avail themselves.—One of our historians remarks upon this period, that “ It had been long the method of the English to cultivate the friendship of this fierce and hardy race in time of danger, but to slight it in circumstances of safety.” This served to alienate the affections of the Indians from the English government, and the avarice of our merchants particularly those called the Ohio company, “ as well as the Indian traders” who sold them bad commodities, and treated them with perfidy and insolence, served to confirm their aversion.*

These

terest, the two passions which have so much weakened in us those sentiments of humanity which the kind Author of nature hath fixed in the human heart, and kindled those of covetousness, which are as yet generally unknown amongst them. *Charlevoix apud cundem.*

* Duprat observes, “ That there needs but prudence and good sense to persuade the Indians to “ what

C H A P. These moving causes of their discontent and
XII. present inimical disposition, the people called
1756. Quakers were not instrumental to promote. We
have seen their early care to prevent any of
their members from supplying the Indians with
spirituous liquors, of which they were very fond,
and which were very pernicious to them in va-
rious respects*—they were studious to do them
good; to endeavour to draw them by winning
persuasions and acts of benevolence, and instruc-
tion from the inconveniences to which their ig-
norance and roving temper subjected them:
this the Indians knew, and for this they vene-
rated the memory of the deceased, and placed
an especial confidence in the surviving body of
this people.

From hence this inference may be drawn,
that beside those conscientious motives, which
have the greatest weight with religious and good
men, to do justly to all men, even as we would
have them to do unto us; human prudence and
sound policy point out the superior wisdom of
endeavouring to conciliate the friendship of the
natives, which is easily purchased by affability,
honesty and integrity, rather than to subdue
them by force, which is not easily effected even
at

“ what is reasonable, and to preserve their friendship
“ without interruption.” He adds, “ We may safely
“ affirm, that the differences we have had with them
“ have been more owing to us than to them. When
“ they are treated insolently or oppressively, they
“ have no less sensibility of injuries than others. If those
“ who have occasion to live among them, will have
“ sentiments of humanity, they will meet in them
“ with men.”

* See vol. iii. page 307.

at the expense of much blood and treasure, C H A P. often expended in vain. And of consequence
that after all the severe censure, calumny, and
clamour raised against the people called Quakers
in Pennsylvania, their measures of treating
the Indians, both formerly and even at this
time, were more christian-like, more rational,
and more effectual for rescuing the frontiers
from their devastations, than the sanguinary and
violent measures their adversaries were desirous
to promote.*

XII.
1756.

It

* " The perpetual increasing generations of Europeans in America, may supply numbers that must in the end wear out these poor Indian inhabitants from their country; but we shall pay dear, both in blood and treasure, in the mean while, for our injustice.

" Our frontiers, from the nature of advancing settlements dispersed along the branchings of the upper parts of our rivers, and scattered in the disunited valleys, amidst the mountains, must be always unguarded and defenceless against the incursions of Indians.—The farmer driven from his little cultured lot, in the woods, is lost: the Indian in the woods, is everywhere at home; every bush, every thicket, is a camp, to the Indian; from whence, at the very moment when he is sure of his blow, he can rush upon his prey. In short, our frontier settlements must ever lie at the mercy of the savages; and a settler is the natural prey to an Indian, whose sole occupation is war and hunting.

" To countries circumstanced as our colonies are, an Indian is the most dreadful of enemies. For in a war with Indians, no force whatever, can defend our frontiers from being a constant wretched scene of conflagrations, and of the most shocking murders. Whereas on the contrary, our temporary expeditions

C H A P. It also appears that the people called Quakers
 XII. were sensibly impressed with a degree of com-
 1756. passion and sympathy for the sufferers in this
 calamity, equal or superior to any thing of that
 nature manifested by the adverse party, who
 taking advantage of the prevailing distresses, to
 promote their own political schemes were inde-
 fatigable in their clamours to vilify the Quaker
 government; but did little that I find for the
 help or relief of the afflicted; while the Quak-
 ers actuated by motives of commiseration, as
 soon as they heard of the devastation committed
 by the enemy Indians on Gnadenhutten, a set-
 tlement of the society called Moravians, on the
 frontier part of the county of Northampton,
 voluntarily raised a sum of money among them-
 selves, which was expended in provision and
 cloathing, and committed to the care of suitable
 persons for distribution among the sufferers.

Subscripti-
on for the
suffering
inhabi-
tants.

And about the same time a subscription was
 set on foot and a considerable sum of money
 contributed by the Quakers in the city, and some
 parts of the country, for the succour of the dis-
 tressed inhabitants who had abandoned their
 habitations on the western frontiers of the
 province, and taken refuge in the interior
 parts, which was in like manner distributed
 among them without distinction of sect or party,
 and proved a feasonable relief against the
 winter.

As

“ expeditions against the Indians, even if successful,
 “ can do them little harm. Every article of their
 “ property is portable, which they always carry with
 “ them; and it is no great matter of distress to an
 “ Indian, to be driven from his dwelling ground, who
 “ finds a home in the first place he sits down upon.”

As I am furnished with the originals or ^{C H A P.} copies of several letters of correspondence, which passed between them, I am enabled to trace the transactions of this period, so far as this society is concerned, with a greater degree of precision.*

XII.

1756.

The annual meeting for Pensylvania and New Jersey, (held in course in the 9th month of this year at Burlington) taking under consideration the distressed state of the frontier settlements of these provinces, and having grounds to apprehend that many of their brethren in religious profession, situated in parts immediately exposed to danger, might soon stand in need of relief and assistance, who for want of timely attention and care might be liable to suffer greatly in the approaching winter: agreed to raise the sum of one thousand pounds for this purpose: and as the exigencies of the society by the continuance of the calamities of the war and the malevolent misrepresentations of their adversaries required vigilant attention; this meeting after approving the transactions of the committee appointed in the preceding year, found it expedient to adopt a proposal of constituting a meeting for sufferings, and after considering and defining the services and trust to be committed to
the

* I apprehend it will be more satisfactory to the reader, and more apposite to the uniformity of historical narration to recite the matters of fact as they arise, than to interrupt the narrative by the insertion of the letter, and papers at length: yet as some of the said letters and paper appears worthy of a place in this work, and may give considerable satisfaction, I think they may be conveniently introduced in an appendix to this book and referred to as occasion requires.

CHAP. the said meeting, nominated twelve friends as
XII. representatives of the yearly meeting, and directed
1756. the respective Quarterly meetings to appoint
four members each to represent them.

The Services to be performed by the Meeting
for Sufferings, viz.

“ To hear and consider the cases of any
“ friends under sufferings and to administer re-
“ lief as necessity is found to require, or to ap-
“ ply to the government or persons in power
“ on their behalf.

“ To correspond with the meeting for suffer-
“ ings or the yearly meeting in London, and to re-
“ present the state of friends here, and in gene-
“ ral to represent this (the yearly) meeting, and
“ appear in all cases where the reputation and
“ interest of truth and our religious society are
“ concerned, but not to interfere in matters of
“ faith or discipline which are not already de-
“ termined by the yearly meeting.

“ To consider the uses and manner of appli-
“ cation of charitable legacies and donations,
“ and to advise respecting the titles of any
“ land, or other estate belonging to the several
“ meetings, &c.

“ To receive an account from the several
“ particular meetings, of any sufferings to
“ which friends may be subjected for the testi-
“ mony of truth.

“ And that fair minutes of all their proceed-
“ ings should be kept, and laid before the year-
“ ly meeting from time to time.”

And

And some years after the establishment of the said meeting, the revisal of all manuscripts intended for publication by any member of the society, was committed to the care thereof, as also any proposal for the reprinting of books for general service.

C H A P.
XII.
1756.

C H A P. XIII.

PENNSYLVANIA CONTINUED.

Proprietaries' Answer to the Address.—Calumnies against the People called Quakers in Pennsylvania, gain credit in England.—The Meeting for Sufferings in London interpose on behalf of their Brethren.—A Deputation from them apply to a Nobleman in high Station.—His Advice to them.—Meeting for Sufferings in London write to Friends in Philadelphia.—But one-third of the present Assembly are Quakers.—Rigorous Exactions under the Militia-law.—Proprietaries refusing to let their own Estates be taxed, occasions Discontent.

TH E meeting for sufferings in London, in compliance with the request of friends of Philadelphia, in a letter accompanying their address to the proprietaries, appointed a committee to deliver it and confer with them thereupon, who received for answer, “ That the proprietaries had no desire or intention to abridge the people of the province of Pennsylvania in general, or friends in particular, of any rights or privileges to which they are by charter entitled; and that

CHAP. if either friends or others, inhabitants of the
 XIII. province, apprehend they have any just cause of
 1756. complaint, and will point out the particular
 grievance, it shall be duly considered and redres-
 sed."—This answer appears plausible, but I
 think evasive; the address specified the particu-
 lar grievance and cause of complaint, and that
 their chartered privileges were abridged; yet
 it doth not appear, that the complainants re-
 ceived any redress, but the cause of complaint
 still continued.

The calumnies propagated against the people called Quakers gain credit in England.

On the other hand, their calumniators by
 their strenuous efforts had well nigh compassed
 their main design of excluding all the Quakers
 (so called) from any share in the government or
 legislature, and subjecting them entirely to their
 mercy. Their exaggerated mis-statement of
 facts, and unjust reflections upon a body of men
 who had deserved better of Pennsylvania, than
 any other, had met with easy credit by many
 people of various ranks in England, and filled
 them with violent prepossessions against the
 Quakers and their principles and conduct: not
 only the injudicious part of the people; but
 men of abilities and men in power had been
 carried away with the stream of popular preju-
 dice, and suffered themselves to be influenced
 by the prevailing notion, that the Quakers must
 be removed from all offices of government, or
 the province be absolutely lost.

The meeting for sufferings in London interpose their good offices in behalf of their brethren in Pennsylvania.

In this circumstance of affairs the meeting for
 sufferings in London understanding that mea-
 sures were in agitation, tending to deprive their
 friends in Pennsylvania of their religious rights
 and privileges, and to make some material al-
 terations in the present frame of government in
 that

that province; from that fraternal affection and sympathy which connects the members of this society as brethren all the world over, and in discharge of the trust of their appointment, which is, to advise and interfere in every good office for the help and relief of their friends under suffering in general, thought it their duty to use their endeavours to prevent the design taking effect.

A deputation of several friends was accordingly appointed to wait upon a nobleman in a high station, in order to request his advice and favourable interposition, who received and treated them with remarkable kindness, and candidly gave them his advice, and promised his endeavours to prevent matters being carried to extremity; the purport of his advice the said deputed friends delivered to the meeting in their report, as follows.

He acquainted friends who waited on him, Advice given by a nobleman in high station. that he discovered a general and strong preposition excited against us as a people, both here and in America, chiefly he believed from the repeated accounts transmitted hither, of the distressing situation of affairs in that province, which were too readily credited by all ranks, and ascribed to the principles and conduct of the society.

That even those in considerable stations, who had been our firm friends on various occasions, now seemed to be so far influenced, as to be either wavering in their opinion or disposed to join in the popular cry against us; and that from the present appearance of things, such seemed to be the temper of many, that no measures however disadvantageous to us, could be

CHAP. offered to either house, which would not at
XII. least meet with a strenuous support.

1756. Nevertheless that he and a few more from a thorough knowledge and approbation of our principles and conduct in divers particulars; and from a consideration of the injustice it would be, to exclude those from any share in the legislature of a province, who had so highly contributed to its present value and reputation, were desirous that we ourselves if possible, should apply a remedy, rather than leave it to be done by the public, who from the disposition they were in, seemed inclined to the severest; a clause for totally excluding our friends in Pennsylvania and other parts of America, from having seats in any provincial assembly, by imposing an oath, having actually been part of a bill now before parliament, that as the majority of the present assembly were of our profession, who from their known principles could not contribute to the defence of the country, now grievously harassed by the Indians under French influence, in a manner that most people here, and even many in Pennsylvania, thought necessary; it seemed but common justice in our friends to decline accepting a trust, which under the present circumstances they could not discharge; and therefore advised that we should use our utmost endeavours to prevail upon them, neither to offer themselves as candidates, nor accept of seats in the assembly, during the present commotions in America.

That if we could give any reasonable hopes this advice would be complied with, he for one would endeavour to prevent any violent measures from being taken at the present.

But,

But, that as much depended on this compliance, he earnestly recommended we should not trust to letters only, or the most pressing advices, but that even some proper persons should be deputed to go over on this occasion.

C H A P.
XIII.
1756.

For should any disaster befall the province, and our friends continue to fill the assembly, it would redound to the prejudice of the society in general, and be the means, perhaps, of subverting a constitution under which the province had so happily flourished.

He farther recommended it to us, to wait upon some other principal persons in high stations, and endeavour to prevail upon them to join in suspending the resolutions which might have been formed either for a present or total exclusion.

In consequence of these conferences and the foregoing report, a letter was drawn up by the meeting for sufferings in London, addressed to friends of the quarterly meeting of Philadelphia, and other quarterly meetings in Pensylvania; as the subject was of great consequence, not only to the ease and safety of friends there, but to rescue the society at large from the impressions, which malignant abuse had exerted itself to fix unjustly on its reputation, and as the yearly meeting of London was at hand, it was thought expedient to communicate the said letter and the occasion thereof, and the minutes of their meeting to the said yearly meeting, that they might be strengthened by the concurrence and approbation of the body in their collective capacity. The minutes and proceedings of the meeting for sufferings on American affairs were

Meeting
for suf-
ferings in
London

fully write to
friends in
Pensylva-
nia.

CHAP. XIII. fully approved; with a recommendation to them, to continue their care and assistance therein as occasion might require; and likewise to use their endeavours to procure two suitable friends to go over, in pursuance of the advice given them. The draught of the letter was also read in the yearly meeting, and approved.

Two
friends
carry their
epistle.

Two friends being found, who from a persuasion of duty were willing to cross the seas on this occasion, and in the estimation of their brethren were well qualified for the service, each of them having travelled through the province on religious visits and were generally well known and esteemed by their brethren there, viz. John Hunt of London, and Christopher Wilson of Cumberland; they accordingly embarked and arrived at Philadelphia, in the early part of the tenth month this year, meeting with a cordial reception from friends of that city, and had conferences with such of them as were nominated by their late yearly meeting to compose a part of the meeting for sufferings agreed to be established, to whom they imparted the nature of the interesting business upon which they had come over, when they soon perceived it so uniformly coincided with the sense and judgment of the friends in those provinces, that several months previous to their arrival, six representatives in the assembly of Pennsylvania who were members of the society called Quakers, desirous to preserve a conduct consistent with their peaceable principles, and from a conviction of judgment against complying with the military requisitions warmly urged on the legislature, had of their own accord applied to the house for liberty, to vacate their seats; and after consideration

of

Votes of Assembly, vol. iv. page, 564.

of the reasons they offered for such a measure, their request was granted, a new election ordered, and other persons not of their religious profession were chosen to supply their places; others also of the same society at the close of the session of this year, refused to be continued in that station. *See page 511, Appendix, No. I.*

William Denny, being commissioned to succeed Robert Hunter Morris, as lieutenant governor of Pennsylvania and its territories, arrived in Philadelphia, in the 8th month,* which raised the hopes of the people, that the proprietaries seeing the ill effects of the controversies which had subsisted were become disposed to remove the cause of their continuance; but it was soon found they had changed their deputy only, and not their measures; in which the assembly was so confirmed by the governor's first speech on public business, that they requested him to lay before the house full copies of such instructions given him by the proprietaries as related to money bills of any kind, with the preambles or other parts that contained the reasons of such instructions, with which request he complied, and they evinced rather an increase than a relaxation of the restrictions heretofore given; and the governor having made a demand of money for the defence of the province, the house framed a bill for granting for the king's use, sixty thousand pounds, to be raised by an

A new go-
vernor ap-
pointed
but no
change of
measures.

* Previous to his leaving London, a committee of the meeting for sufferings there was deputed to wait on him (as had been usual on the like occasion) and request his favourable regard to friends in that province, and he gave assurance of his amicable disposition towards them.

C H A P. excise on spirituous liquors, which was presented to the governor for his assent who after making many objections which occasioned some altercations between them, he at length absolutely refused to enact, whereupon the house appointed a committee to prepare a reply to his objections, on consideration of whose report it

1756. The assembly was—Resolved—that the said proprietary instructions are arbitrary, and unjust; an infraction of the charter; a total subversion of the constitution, and a manifest violation of their rights as freeborn subjects of England.*

The annual election of representatives throughout the province for the present year, having lately past, and the day appointed by charter for their convening being near at hand, conferences were obtained with those members called Quakers who had been re-elected, in consequence of which four of them, convinced of the propriety of the proceedings of our brethren in Great Britain, agreed to decline taking their seats and the qualifications usually subscribed; their reasons for which were set forth in a writing directed to the speaker and house of assembly, where their request was considered, and allowed, a new election immediately ordered and four others of different religious denominations legally chosen in their stead; so that now of thirty six members of which the whole house consisted, there were not more than twelve under the character of Quakers, and divers of them were not acknowledged members of that society.

But one-third of the assembly under the name of Quakers.

The

* Votes of Assembly, vol. iv. page 360.

The several quarterly meetings in the two provinces, appointed their representatives, pursuant to the directions of the late yearly meeting, and the first meeting for sufferings for Pennsylvania, and New-Jersey, was held in Philadelphia, the 11th of the 12th month of this year; at which the before mentioned deputies from friends in England, attending laid before the meeting several papers and two letters they had brought with them, relating to the business of their deputation.

The inimical disposition which had been so earnestly and undeservedly raised against friends in Pennsylvania, manifested itself not only in endeavours to deprive them of their power and influence there, but extended itself into the government of the three lower counties on Delaware, where the militia-law had been enacted, and was executed with great rigour and oppression on the members of this society, by such exorbitant exactions that in some instances they amounted to tenfold the sum imposed by law, which rendered it necessary to represent the grievance to the governor by an address on the occasion.

The proprietaries and their adherents had gained little or nothing by their exertions to remove the Quakers (so called) out of the provincial assembly, for their successors opposed them and their measures, even more vehemently, so that by this time dissensions between them had risen to a very serious height; the assembly having come to a resolution to send an agent to London, to remonstrate to the government there against the proprietaries instructions to their governors, which were apprehended to be subver-

Rigorous
exactions
under the
Militia-
act.

CHAP. five of the essential rights of the people. In
 XIII. this circumstance the people called Quakers,
 1757 though much misrepresented by aspersions and
 The Quak- groundless furnishes to the proprietors, who were
 ers (so cal- too easily prejudiced thereby, in conformity to
 led) advis- their pacific principles, thought it their duty to
 ed to avoid caution their friends against mixing with the
 mixing contending parties, so as to suffer their minds to
 with par- be agitated with the prevailing heats and animo-
 ties. The meeting for sufferings also appoint-
 ed a committee to labour to promote an amica-
 ble adjustment of their differences. A conduct
 highly becoming their christian profession in en-
 deavouring to do good for evil, and very diffe-
 rent from the malevolent party spirit of their
 adversaries.

Yet think
they have
reason to
be dissatis-
fied with
the pro-
prietaries.

Notwithstanding which, friends thought they had still reason to complain of the averse[n]ess of the proprietaries to attend to their remonstrance; and in their opinion to their own true interests, as well as those of the people, in not using seasonable endeavours to check the encroachments on the fundamental principles of their constitution; and that they declined to return a satisfactory answer to their address, and were quite silent as to their resolution of preserving to the provincials their fundamental privilege of liberty of conscience: the answer they returned appeared merely evasive, and designed to avoid a plain and candid reply to their request. These proprietaries instead of imitating the example of their honourable father, in studying the welfare of the people, and cultivating a good understanding with and amongst them, by just and generous measures, seem rather after the example of too many in power, to use the power they were invested

invested with to grasp at more, without a due con- C H A P.
sideration of the obligation they were under to XIII.
those men, who, by the equity of their adminis- 1757.
tration, their industry, and their virtue had prin-
cipally contributed to the late prosperous state
of the province, whereby the value of their ef-
tate was greatly increased.

The principal subject of misunderstanding be- Proprieta-
tween the present assembly and the proprietary ries refuse
governors, was concerning the public taxation. to let their
The latter in their speeches were continually estates be
urging the assembly to raise money for military taxed.
preparations, and building forts for the defence
of the province, which the present assembly or
the majority of them, having no conscientious
scruple against, were not averse to grant; and in
order to raise an adequate sum, had recourse to
a land tax, and in drawing up the bills they
taxed the proprietary estate, as thinking it rea-
sonable that they who had the greatest proper-
ty to be defended, should bear their share of the
charge. The governor therefore in pursuance
of his instructions, whereby the proprietaries
claimed an exemption from the tax, and also a
controlling power in the disposing of the money
raised, refused his assent to the money bills.
Both sides persevered in supporting their con-
tradictory sentiment, without yielding; mutual
accusations, and remonstrances widened the
breach; the frontier settlements still remained
exposed to the incursions of the Indians, and
the people were divided in attachment to one
side or the other, hence arose those party heats
and animosities, which this society were con-
cerned to caution their members against inter-
meddling in.

The

C H A P. The assembly of Pennsylvania at the same time
XIII. having under consideration a law for establishing
1757. a militia in that province, the meeting for sufferings
at Philadelphia interposed in behalf of friends, by an address to the assembly, in which they again recite the 35th section of laws, and the first clause of the charter of privileges, whereby it appears that laws requiring under pains and penalties, services of friends incompatible with their well-known christian principles, are direct infractions of that religious liberty which was the most essential condition of settlement; and therefore they request that the assembly would make such provision therein that the liberty of conscience heretofore enjoyed, and so solemnly and repeatedly granted by the charter may not in any respect be infringed or violated.

C H A P.

C H A P X I V .

PENNSYLVANIA CONTINUED.

A Proclamation published for a public Fast.—Reasons for not observing it.—Necessity for a Reconciliation with the Indians not early enough attended to.—Subscription and Association for preserving Peace with them.—Government of Pennsylvania treat with the Indians, at Easton.—Some Friends think it best to attend though discouraged by the Governor.—Trustees of the Friendly Association address the Governor in defence of their Conduct.—The Governor transmits to England a Report of a Committee, which casts the Blame on Friends.—An intended Theatre prohibited by the Assembly.

C H A P.
XIV.
1757.

IN the sixth month, this year, a proclamation was published, appointing a day to be observed for a public fast, a manifest evidence that the people called Quakers had little influence in the government; yet being still disposed both to avoid occasions of just offence, or decline complying with the ordinances of the present rulers without rendering a reason, and to inform the public in general concerning their principle respecting ordinances of this nature, a committee by appointment of the meeting for sufferings had a conference with the governor and the mayor

CHAP. mayor of the city, to whom they gave their reasons for not complying with observations enjoined by human authority. That meeting also published an apology in justification of the practice of friends, and in support of their christian testimony against complying with human injunctions in matters relative to the worship of God, viz.

1757. **An Apology for the People called Quakers, containing some Reasons, for their not complying with human Injunctions and Institutions in Matters relative to the Worship of God.**

It is well known that the province of Pennsylvania was first settled by a number of pious, sober and substantial people (mostly) members of the religious society called Quakers, who had many years suffered grievous persecutions in their native country, for their faithful conscientious testimony against complying with human institutions and injunctions in matters of faith and worship.

That by their patience and meekness in sufferings, and their integrity, sobriety and honesty in the course of their conduct, they clearly approved themselves to be the sincere followers and disciples of Christ, and were by royal authority entrusted with many valuable and extensive rights and privileges, to be enjoyed with the property they had purchased in the soil of the province, which induced them, without any expense to the government, to cross the seas, and settle and improve it, though at that time a wilderness; and by the 35th section of the first laws made under the royal charter, the most clear

clear and determinate assurance was made to them and their successors, that "so long as they lived peaceably and justly under the civil government, they should in no ways be molested or prejudiced for their religious persuasion or practice, nor be compelled at any time to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place or ministry contrary to their religious persuasion. These privileges were confirmed by our worthy first proprietor William Penn, by the 8th article of the present charter of privileges granted by him in these words. "But because the happiness of mankind depends so much upon the enjoyment of liberty of their consciences, as aforesaid, I do hereby solemnly declare, promise and grant for me, my heirs and assigns, that the first article of this charter relating to liberty of conscience, and every part and clause therein, according to the true intent and meaning thereof, shall be kept and remain without any alteration inviolably for ever."

From the first settlement of this province, till within a few years past, the administration of the laws was committed chiefly to men of the same principles with the first settlers, and by the divine blessing on their religious concern for the present and future prosperity and happiness of the people, virtue and true religion were promoted and encouraged, vice and irreligion were discouraged, peace, tranquillity and plenty remained in the land; and the enjoyment of religious and civil liberty was inviolably preserved.

We profess, and acknowledge the same religious principles our predecessors published to the world, and since by the permission of infinite wisdom,

H A P.

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1757.

C H A P. XIV. 1757.

wisdom, the peace of this province hath been interrupted, and the desolating calamities of war experienced by our distressed fellow subjects on the frontier settlements, we have been affectionately concerned in true sympathy, freely contributed towards their relief; and often been engaged both in public and private, to put up our supplications to Almighty God on their behalf; and by the constant tenor of our conduct, manifested that to fear God, honour the king, and promote peace and piety among men are acknowledged by us indispensable duties; yet ever since we were a people we have had a testimony against mere formality and human injunctions in matters of religion and the worship of God; and being taught by the precepts of our Lord Jesus Christ, the testimonies of his Apostles, and our own experience, that the worship and prayer which God will accept, can only be performed and offered by the immediate assistance of the Holy Spirit; we are conscientiously concerned to maintain our religious dissent from formal and ceremonious injunctions; by which set forms or times are appointed in man's will for divine worship, " For though the Jews in the first covenant had many feasts and feasts, and holy-days, as the feasts of the new moon, and passover, and feasts of unleavened bread, Pentecost, the feasts of tabernacles, and the feasts of dedication, which are largely shewed in the books of Moses," yet even in that time when the observation of feasts and appointed days was thus enjoined, the Lord by the prophet declared, *he was weary to bear their appointed feasts, that their solemn meeting was iniquity, because for want of a proper disposition*

F. How-
gill's works,
page, 430.

sition of heart to seek and serve him, their hearts C H A P. remained polluted. *Ye shall not fast as ye do this day, to make your voice to be heard on high.* Is it such a fast that I have chosen, a day for a man to afflict his soul? Is it to bow down his head as a bulrush, and to spread sackcloth and ashes under him? Wilt thou call this a fast and an acceptable day to the Lord? Is not this the fast that I have chosen, to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke? Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out, to thy house; when thou seest the naked, that thou cover him, and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh, then shalt thou call, and the Lord shall answer; thou shalt cry, and he shall say, here I am. From which it appears that even when public fasts were observed by divine appointment, yet the Lord declared his disapprobation of them, when the observers thereof did not manifest their sincerity by suitable fruits of repentance and amendment of life. But we dare not comply with injunctions of that kind, as the dispensation in which those outward observations were enjoined, is now ceased. Christ our holy head and high priest, who is the substance of that which was pointed to and hoped for, enjoins his followers the observance of a daily universal fast. A fast from every thing which has not a tendency to purify and perfect the soul, and render it more and more fit to become the tabernacle of the Holy Ghost. He positively requires of his disciples and followers, that *they deny themselves, take up their cross and follow him, and that they watch and pray always, that they may be accounted worthy to stand before*

XIV.

1757.

Isaiah,

lviii. 4. to

9.

Matth. xvi.
24. Luke,
xxi, 35.

CHAP. before him. That in the primitive churches they
 XIV. saw an end of these shadows of things to come,
 1757. and were brought to him, the substance, in
 whom all figures and shadows do end, is mani-
 fest from the repeated expressions of the apostle
 Paul, *For Christ is the end of the law for righte-
 ousness to every one that believeth*, Rom. x. 4.
But now hath he obtained a more excellent ministry,
*by how much also he is the mediator of a better
 covenant, which was established upon better pro-
 mises*. Heb. viii. 6. *But now after that ye have
 known God, or rather are known of God, how turn
 ye again to the weak and beggarly elements, where-
 unto ye desire again to be in bondage. Ye observe
 days and months and times and years, I am afraid
 of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in
 vain*. Gal. iv. 9. to 11. *One man esteemeth one
 day above another; another esteemeth every day
 alike. He that regardeth the day, regardeth it unto
 the Lord, and he that regardeth not the day, to the
 Lord he doth not regard it. Let us not therefore
 judge one another any more, but judge this rather,
 that no man put a stumbling block, or an occasion to
 fall, in his brother's way*. Rom. xiv. 5, 6, and 13.
*Let no man therefore judge you in meat or drink, or
 in respect of an holy-day, or of the new moon, or of
 the sabbath days, which are a shadow of things to
 come, but the body is of Christ*. Col. ii. 16, and
 17. And we apprehend that the practice and
 testimony of our forefathers is truly consistent
 therewith, as will appear on a perusal of their
 writings, and particularly those of our worthy
 friends William Penn and Robert Barclay.

W. Penn's "We cannot, in conscience to God, observe
 works. vol. " holy-
 2. p. 875.

" holy-days (so called) the public fasts and c H A P .
 " feasts, because of their human institution and XIV.
 " ordination, and that they have no divine war-
 " rant, but are appointed in the will of man." 1757.
R. Bar-
 " Even as we have suffered much in our native clay's apo-
 " country, because we neither could ourselves page
565.
 " bear arms nor send others in our place, nor
 " give our money for the buying of drums,
 " standards, and other military attire; and last-
 " ly, because we could not hold our doors,
 " windows, and shops, close for conscience sake,
 " upon such days as fasts and prayers were ap-
 " pointed, for to desire a blessing upon, and suc-
 " cess for the arms of the kingdom or common
 " wealth, under which we live, neither give
 " thanks for the victories acquired by the effu-
 " sion of much blood, by which forcing of the
 " conscience, they would have constrained our
 " brethren, living in divers kingdoms, at war
 " together, to have implored our God for con-
 " trary and contradictory things, and conse-
 " quently impossible; for it is impossible, that
 " two parties fighting together, should both ob-
 " tain the victory; and because we cannot con-
 " cur with them in this confusion, therefore we
 " are subject to persecution. Yea and others,
 " who with us do witness, that the use of arms
 " is unlawful to christians, do look askant
 " upon us: but which of us two do most faith-
 " fully observe this testimony against arms?
 " either they, who at certain times at the magis-
 " trates order, do close up their shops and hous-
 " es, and meet in their assemblies, praying for
 " the prosperity of their arms, or giving thanks
 " for some victory or other, whereby they make
 " themselves like to those that approve wars

C H A P. " and fighting: or we, which cannot do these
 XIV. " things for the same cause of conscience, lest
 1757. " we should destroy by our works, what we es-
 tablisht in words? we shall leave to the judg-
 ment of all prudent men."

And as we can appeal to the searcher of hearts that our testimony herein proceeds from inward conviction and a principle of conscience, and not from perverseness, obstinacy or disrespect to our superiors, we hope the most charitable and christian construction will be put upon our conduct, in thus dissenting from the practice of other professors of christianity: for though we think ourselves well warranted in adhering to the precepts of our Lord Jesus Christ who enjoined his followers, that *when they fasted they*

Matth .vi. should not appear unto men to fast, but unto their Father who seeth in secret; nevertheless it is far from us to censure or condemn such who sincerely esteem it their duty to observe in humility of soul, days and times of fasting and prayer. Our intention and desire is to preserve our privileges both religious and civil, and to maintain that liberty of conscience we are entitled to by the laws of this province. Conscience is God's prerogative, he is the supreme Lord, Judge, and

W. Penn's Guide thereof. " Nor are we so ignorant as to works, vol. i. p. 445. " think it is within the reach of human power

" to fetter conscience or to restrain its liberty
 " strictly taken; but the plain English of liber-
 " ty of conscience we would be understood to
 " mean is this, namely, the free and uninter-
 " rupted exercise of our consciences in that way
 " of worship, we are most clearly persuaded
 " God requires us to serve him in (without en-
 " dangering our undoubted birthright of Eng-

" lish

" lish freedom) which being matter of faith, we C H A P.
 " sin if we omit, and they cannot do less, that XIV.
 " shall endeavour it."

1757.

We have ever believed that it is by the light or gift of God that all true knowledge in things spiritual is received and revealed, and as the same is manifested and received in the heart, by the strength and power thereof, all true believers, in Christ, come to the clear and distinct knowledge of their duty; and will be taught thereby when to fast, and what to pray for as they ought: and as prayer is the most awful and solemn part of religious worship, we esteem it our duty to wait for divine light and understanding, that we may know the will of God, otherwise we may ask amiss and not receive, *and by offering the sacrifice of fools, do evil.*

The most eminent and experienced christians declared, they, knew not how to pray or what to Rom. viii.
pray for as they ought, but as the spirit itself^{26.} helped their infirmities with sighs and groanings, &c. And they were to pray with the spirit and with the ^{1. Cor. xiv.} understanding, Surely then not in the will of man,^{15.} nor because he appoints? Every thing we pray for should be in the name or power of Jesus, and according to the will of God, who knows best what is most proper and convenient for us, and will tend most to his glory and the good of his creatures. And who can say, that adversity and afflictions may not be productive of real good, and a means of bringing many to seek the Lord, who in a time of ease and prosperity forgot and departed from him. For we have great reason to acknowledge that the just judgments of the Lord are now in the land, and that there is cause for deep penitential humility and mourning before him, that these judgments may be removed from

C H A P. from us; and if the people will make a right
XIV. improvement of them, and every particular per-
1757. son reform one, as it is in the power of every
one under the operation and influence of divine
grace to do; this will be an acceptable fast to
the Lord: to fast from pride, strife, contention,
unnatural heats, broils, animosities, blood; from
luxury, wantonness, revellings, drunkennes, pro-
faneness, impiety, covetousnes, deceit, fraud, in-
fidelity, and all manner of evil; then might we
have some well grounded reason to hope that the
scourge which hangs over us will in due time be
removed and we again be favoured with days
of peace and tranquillity.

There are some yet living in this country,
who are witnesses that so long as the people
lived in the fear of God, walked in humility be-
fore him, and kept his holy law and command-
ments, it went well with them and with their chil-
dren; the land rejoiced, the blessing of the
Most High was known, and his powerful and
protecting providence remarkably conspicuous;
for though we had no outward barrier, the
sword was not permitted to enter within our
border, but the salvation of the Lord was a de-
fence round about: but now blood has been
spilt and the land is polluted therewith, and the
sound of war is heard. Oh! that the inhabi-
tants may consider these things and lay them to
heart, before it be too late, and cry mightily to
the Lord our God, turning to him with all our
hearts and imploring his assistance, who, if our
ways please him, can arise for our deliver-
ance and cause our enemies to be at peace
with us.

Prov. xvi.
7.

Signed

Signed on behalf and by appointment of C H A P.
our said meeting for sufferings, held at Philadelphia, the 29th of the 6th month, 1757, by
XIV.

JAMES PEMBERTON, Clerk.

1757.

But although the members of this society could not consistently join in observing such a fast, they were sensibly affected on account of the calamitous state of the province, and the general disregard to religion and rectitude of conduct prevailing amongst the inhabitants, which they considered as the principal cause thereof; and notwithstanding they were now mostly excluded from places of trust or power in the government, and by their christian principles averse to the shedding of blood; yet they exerted themselves from the first, not without some degree of success, to bring about a reconciliation with the natives, in a manner consistent with their principles. Soon after the first invasion of the frontiers of Virginia by the Indians in the French interest, divers of this religious society were led to turn their thoughts to those Indians who had been their old friends and neighbours, and to consider whether they and the government had fully demeaned themselves towards them with fidelity and justice. A little reflection convinced them there had been a deficiency. Some in their private capacity were willing to promote a good understanding with them, by giving them a testimony of their friendly regard: others of them used endeavours to prevail with the government (as more effectual) to enter into conciliating measures with them; but the proposal was not duly regarded, till the distressed state of the province brought Necessity
for a reconciliation
with the Indians.

C H A P. XIV. brought many to more serious considerations,
1757. and convinced them that such measures were
 expedient and even necessary.

The friends who were principally active in promoting these measures, informed the ensuing yearly meeting of their proceedings, which were approved, and friends in general recommended to assist in promoting so good and necessary an undertaking: but this being business of a civil nature, the meeting did not think it properly belonged to them, as a religious body, to interfere further therein. Many friends and others promoted a friendly association for raising and applying a sum of money for forwarding and preserving a peace with the Indians, a liberal subscription being made by them the application whereof, produced a salutary effect.*

In

* The friendly association was first promoted in the 11th month, 1756, and continued to the 19th of 4th month, 1763; during which time committees were annually elected by the subscribers, who met on the 19th of 4th month, in each year, to receive from the said committee an account of their transactions, and expenditure of the money raised, which amounted to 400*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* which was chiefly laid out in presents to the Indians and delivered to them at the public treaties either by the governors of the province, Morris and Denny, on behalf of the subscribers, or by the permission or knowledge of the said governors, as well to conciliate the minds of the Indians as to encourage them to seek out and release the captives remaining among them. 430*l.* part of the above sum was contributed by the Menonists, who entrusted it to the care of the said association, and besides the above contributions the sum of 236*l.* 1*s.* was raised by a number of other religious Germans, called Swingfielders, which

In the 7th month (commonly called July) this year a treaty was opened between the government of Pennsylvania and the neighbouring Indians at Easton, in Northampton county.* And several friends proposing to attend the treaty to forward the desirable work of peace, the governor declared his disapprobation of their attendance at the treaty, or distinguishing themselves by giving the Indians any presents.

C H A P.
XIV.

1757.

A treaty
with the
Indians.

Whereupon

which they directed to be applied for the particular purpose of the redemption of captives.

In 1764, another subscription was set on foot by the people called Quakers, and 266*l.* 10*s.* raised and applied for the relief of the frontier inhabitants distressed by the incursions of the Indians.

Note, these sums are supposed to be in Pennsylvania currency.

* At this place two treaties had been held in the preceding year 1756. One of them in the 7th month by governor Morris, preparatory to the other in the 11th month by governor Denny: when some captives were brought in and restored to their connections: which treaties appear to have been promoted by a conference had between some of the people called Quakers in Philadelphia, and a few Indians who were occasionally in that city, in the 4th month preceding; and also through the mediation of Sir William Johnson, the king's agent in Indian affairs. The subsequent treaties in the year 1758 were also held at Easton, at the last of which, a general peace was settled on the 23d of October, 1758, for Pensylvania and all the other provinces. Francis Bernard, governor of New Jersey, acting on behalf of that colony. The disputes respecting their claims unsatisfied for lands having been at the preceding treaty, in the month called May, by mutual consent referred to the king of England.

C H A P. XIV. Whereupon friends held several conferences as to the measures they should pursue ; the result whereof was, that as mutual tokens of the revival of antient friendship had passed between them and the Indians with a view to promote a general peace, it might now be of bad consequence to decline, or neglect attending on this important occasion. In consequence of this determination, several friends from Philadelphia and elsewhere, proceeded on their journey to Easton and attended the treaty.

Some
friends
think it
best to
attend at
it, though
the gover-
nor disap-
proves.

1757.

In the afternoon of the same day that they arrived there, the Indians with Teedyuscung their king or chief waited on the governor, and signified the sincerity of their intentions to promote the good work of peace ; when he desired that as things had heretofore been misunderstood or forgotten, he might have the liberty to choose a clerk to take minutes of the transac^{tions} of the treaty, which request being twice evaded, it gave the Indians considerable uneasiness, as apprehending treacherous dealing ; but by the interposition of friends in conferring with them, and making them a small present they were pacified. At the next meeting the governor consented to allow them a clerk, and they proceeded to the busines^s of the treaty. The first demand Teedyuscung made was that of satisfaction for the injury a messenger of theirs had received, who, being sent on a message to the remote Indians, in his return was shot by one of the provincials, and at this time lay dangerously ill of the wound. The satisfaction he demanded was, that if the wounded man should die, the aggressor should be tried by the laws of the colony and

and suffer death * in like manner. This demand ^{C H A P.}
and proposal seemed not well relished by some ^{XIV.}
persons, who wished rather to retard peace ^{1757.}
than to forward it: the next day there was no
public treaty; all things seemed to be in con-
fusion; during which time friends kept quiet,
waiting for opportunities wherein they might
hope to be more successful in their well meant
endeavours, being very earnest to procure peace
for the province, and to pursue the most effec-
tual means for obtaining security to the frontier
settlements.

But deep rooted prejudice possessed the
minds of many, who manifested such bitterness
and envy to the whole society, that, their mea-
sures were thwarted, their laudable undertak-
ings misrepresented, and their characters aspers-
ed; very unjust charges and insinuations were
propagated against friends for their conduct in
Indian affairs, as treacherously taking their part
in a manner hostile to the interest of the province.

Upon this occasion the friends concerned <sup>Trustees
of the associa-
tion ad-
dres the
governor
in defence
of their
conduct.</sup>
thought it necessary in their own justification to
explain and vindicate their conduct in an ad-
dress to their governor, William Denny, Esq. ^{1759.}
which is placed in the appendix, No. 2.

What impression this address made on the
governor I am not informed, but if a favourable
one, he and his coadjutors suffered their minds
afterwards to be biased by popular rumours
and party; for in the beginning of the year
1759, the said governor and his council trans-
mitted to England a report of a committee by
^{them}

* Offering also to renew the annual compact, that if any
of their people should commit the like crime the criminal
should be delivered up to be tried by the laws of the colo-
ny and suffer death.

C H A P. them appointed, to enquire into the dissatisfaction and claims upon the Indians, containing insinuations and charges calculated to asperge the society of the people called Quakers, and injure their reputation with the British government. The meeting for sufferings there coming to the knowledge hereof, applied to the governor and council by two successive addresses, for a copy of said report, and received an evasive answer to the first, and to the second a positive refusal, which carries the appearance of a secret design, not only to stigmatize them, but to procure credit to the report as undeniable, by depriving them of the means of vindicating their conduct or of refuting most probably, a partial and misstated representation of fact. *See Appendix, No. III.*

1759. Report of committee against friends.

1760.

I find in a letter from the meeting for sufferings at Philadelphia to that in London, bearing date the 25th of 3d month, 1760, a reference to a future treaty to be held the ensuing summer as followeth, " It will be a great advantage to the public, and afford real satisfaction to us, to find at the general treaty, which is expected to be held with the Indians next summer, that the governor hath full power to terminate the controversies, which are subsisting respecting their lands in the northern parts of Pennsylvania. Until this is done the release of some hundreds of our fellow-subjects who remain in captivity, can hardly be expected to be obtained. The pacific measures, which, through much difficulty have been pursued; being blessed with happy effects, the friends immediately concerned therein are encouraged to continue their endeavours. And it appearing to them necessary at this time

“ time to address the proprietaries of that pro- C H A P.
“ vince, we hope, the account they are able to XIV.
“ give of their first motives to engage in that
“ important business, and their proceedings
“ therein to the present time, will tend to re-
“ move some of those prejudices, which have
“ heretofore prevailed, and engage a favoura-
“ ble attention to the important subjects of re-
“ establishing peace on the principles of justice
“ and equity.” It being their opinion and, they
think must be that of all men, who are open to
conviction, that peace with the natives which
the circumstances of the colonies indispensably
required was to be restored and preserved only
by pacific measures.

The foregoing quotation seems to elucidate the before mentioned report, of the committee, as to their reasons for reflecting on the proceedings of friends in Indian affairs; it may be presumed from thence that the Indians conceived they had been injured by the proprietaries or their agents, by encroachments on their lands without their consent, or without an equivalent (contrary to the practice of the first settlers) and probably the members of the friendly association thought they had reason to complain, and might give their opinion in favour of a compensation to the natives for the injuries done them, as most consistent with the principles of christianity and justice, and most eligible in the present disposition of the Indians to enter into an amicable discussion of the grounds of their discontent, which might be interpreted by this committee a strengthening of the Indian cause against the proprietary interest. And from political motives might be represented to the English government in terms to carry the appearance of being

C H A P. being contrary to the interests of the mother
XIV. country also.

1760. Thus Pennsylvania which for a series of years from its first settlement, had been remarkably distinguished for the public and private virtues; the mutual benevolence; sobriety and industry of its inhabitants; was now disturbed and its peace destroyed by party dissensions and mutual distrusts. And now also the simplicity of manners, which had been the ornament of the state, the safe-guard of its virtue, and the foundation of its prosperity, was in danger of being subverted; for an attempt was made in imitation of the states and populous cities of Europe, to introduce into Philadelphia the refinements of voluptuousness, and a taste for sensual gratifications, by erecting a theatre for exhibiting stage-plays; entertainments which the people called Quakers (as well as the most sober and considerate part of other religious societies) have ever deemed incompatible with the principles of christianity, the tenour of the doctrines of the gospel and the practice of the best men in the earliest ages of the christian church.

Friends address the assembly to prohibit the intended theatre, it is prohibited. The members of this society in Philadelphia thought it their duty to bear their testimony against this pernicious attempt, by an address to the general assembly, requesting the interposition of their authority to prevent the introduction of them; in which they were at this time so successful that a law was passed prohibiting such corrupting entertainments.

A P P E N D I X

T O

C H A P. XII. XIII. XIV.

C O N T A I N I N G

No. I. *Extract of a Letter from the Meeting for Sufferings in Philadelphia.*

No. II. *A summary Account of the Occurrences with Governor Denny, on the Approach of the Treaty at Easton, in the seventh Month, 1757.*

No. III. *Abstract from the Report of the Committee of Council, appointed to enquire into the Complaints of the Indians at the Treaty at Easton, 8th of November, 1756.*

No. I. *Extract of a Letter to the Meeting for Sufferings in London, from the Meeting for Sufferings in Philadelphia—Twelfth Month, 1756.*

OUR friends John Hunt and C. Wilson by their APPEN.
long passage being prevented of seeing friends together at our yearly meeting, and the anniversary of the election of the members of assembly for the province of Pennsylvania, being also over, on their arrival they communicated your epistles and minutes to those of us

Pennsylvania.
1756.

APPEN.us who were nominated at the yearly meeting, and Pensylva- though our meeting was not then fully constituted, nia. the manner in which you had proceeded in the con- sideration of our affairs, and the engagements you had entered into on behalf of friends here, so evidently appeared to be conducted with a real regard to our true interest, and so perfectly consistent with our sentiments, that they were encouraged and assisted by those members of this meeting in doing every thing in their power to render the service proposed effectual, in order to which, those of our society who were chosen representatives in the several counties, were re- quested to give them an opportunity of a conference before the usual time of meeting in the assembly, which was readily complied with by all whom there was at that time any prospect of prevailing with, to regard the advice and concern of their brethren, and in consequence of it, four of them declined tak- ing their seats in the house, and others not of our profession were soon after chosen in their stead, so that there are now but twelve of the members of the assembly who make any pretensions of being called by our name, and several of these are not acknow- ledged by us as members of the society; it would have been matter of real satisfaction to us, to have been able to prevail with every one of them to decline serving in the legislature, during the present circum- stances of our affairs, but this could not be obtained, as they do not appear to be convinced it would be for the public interest, for as six of the friends who were chosen into the assembly last year had resigned their seats, and some others since refused to be re-elected, those who now remain say they should not think themselves excusable to their constituents, if they should decline the service, but we think it may be truly said, they were most of them so clear of intermeddling in the elections, and so many friends declined attend- ing or voting in several of the counties, that they appear to be chosen by a majority of people not of our profession, many of whom are very apprehensive of danger from permitting those, who have been en- deavouring

1756.

deavouring to subvert the constitution, to have any APPEN.
considerable share in the legislature.

Pennsylva-
nia.

1756.

Some of us were witnesses of the circumspection and prudence, with which our dear friends John and Christopher performed this weighty service; and this meeting having now received from them your epistle and minutes, with some account of their proceedings then and since at several quarterly meetings in Pennsylvania, it is our duty to inform you, that we have full unity with them, being assured, they have steadily proceeded with a single eye to the exaltation of truth, and the promoting the peace and prosperity of the church.

APPENDIX No. II.

*A summary Account of the Occurrences with
Governor Denny on the Approach of the Treaty
at Easton, in the 7th Month, 1757.*

1757.

Although the governor at the preceding treaty held at Easton, had delivered to the Indians the presents provided for them by the people called Quakers (as his predecessor had done on their behalf and in their name) and expressed his satisfaction with the conduct and company of those who attended that treaty, he now pleaded "That the proprietaries had "directed him not to suffer them, or any other body, "or particular society in Pennsylvania, to concern "themselves in any treaty with the Indians, or on "any pretence to suffer presents from such persons to "be given to the Indians, or to be joined with the "public present in any such treaty." And he further says; "These directions I shall conform to, "and my regard for you as well as Mr. Penn's in- "structions lead me to observe, it would be prudent "in you to decline going in a body; your attendance "at treaties as a distinct society having given great "offence to the ministry."

VOL. IV.

L 1

Which

HISTORY OF THE

APPEN. Which answer occasioned the address of the trustees and treasurer of the friendly association, as follows.

- No. II.
Pennsylvania.
1757. To William Denny, Esq. Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of the Province of Pennsylvania, &c.

The Address of the Trustees and Treasurer of the Friendly Association, for regaining and preserving Peace with the Indians by Pacific Measures.

Respectfully sheweth,

That on consideration of the answer given by the governor to our offer of contributing towards the expense of the ensuing treaty with the Indians, we apprehend it to be necessary to lay before him a true state of the motives, which induced us to use our endeavours to promote a reconciliation with them, of the manner in which we proceeded before and since the governors arrival in this province, and of some reasons we have for desiring to see that the grounds of their complaints are carefully and impartially enquired into and considered, and such measures pursued for satisfying them, as the present melancholy circumstances of this province immediately require; and we doubt not if the governor will be pleased to attend to and impartially consider what we shall offer, he will be fully convinced, that our conduct hath been consistent with the profession we make of acting on those principles, of fearing God, honouring the king and promoting peace among men. We therefore beg leave to inform the governor, that soon after the first accounts were brought of the mischief done by the Indians, on the frontiers of Virginia, some of the people called Quakers residing in Philadelphia, seriously considering the fatal consequences of losing that interest and friendship our predecessors had obtained by their upright dealing and hospitable treatment of the Indians, in the first settlement of this province;

vince; and apprehending the general neglect of them, APPEN.
which had for some time been obvious, would termi-
nate to the public disadvantage, determined to im-
prove every future opportunity of manifesting some
regard to them; and several companies of Indians, of
different tribes coming to this city on divers occasions,
they were visited by some of us, invited to our
houses, and on their going away presented with some
small matters, necessary for them in their way of liv-
ing; and the grateful manner in which they received
these instances of regard, and the lively remembrance
they appeared to retain of the friendship which sub-
sisteth between their ancestors and the first settlers of
this province, afforded us real satisfaction, and some
grounds to hope our good intentions would not be
disappointed.

No. II.
Pennsylva-
nia.

1757.

During the following winter the frequent melancholy accounts of the barbarous murders committed by the Indians on the western and northern frontiers of this province, filled the minds of people in general with a spirit of indignation and resentment against them, and no opportunity presented of publicly manifesting the earnest concern we had, to use our utmost endeavours, in a manner consistent with our peaceable principles, to prevent the impending desolation; the calamity became general and every one was deeply interested in the measures taken for enquiring into the causes which induced our ancient steady friends to become our enemies: yet this being the proper business of those then concerned in the administration of the government, we waited the event of their proceedings, having just grounds to hope that the knowledge some of them had of several matters which might probably have contributed to this unhappy rupture,* together with the repeated applications of the assembly of the province, would have excited them to pursue every rational method of making such an enquiry, and obtaining an amicable adjustment of all

* These were printed both in the gazettes and in their minutes.

APPEN. differences with these Indians, and of thereby averting the melancholy consequences of continuing to expose them immediately to the artifices of the French, who would not fail to take advantage of our misunderstanding with them : but the spring of another year returned, and the public remained unacquainted with such measures being pursued : great military preparations were indeed made and forts erected in many parts of the frontiers, but the desolation and distress of the province increased, and the sanguine expectations of the people, who had at first hoped by these means to defend themselves, were remarkably disappointed. Governor Morris nevertheless, determining to issue a declaration of war against the Delawares and Shawnees, many of the people called Quakers residing in Philadelphia, met together and presented an address to him, earnestly beseeching " that every measure which had been pursued and " whatever remained possible to be done, to prevent so " lamentable an extremity, might be strictly and im- " partially reviewed and considered ; that full enquiry " might be made, whether some apprehensions " these Indians had conceived of a deviation from the " integrity of conduct towards them, conspicuous in " the first establishment, might not unhappily have " contributed in some degree to the alteration of " their conduct towards us ; that full time might be " allowed for those Indians, who remained well affect- " ed towards us, to use and report the effect of their " endeavours to reconcile our enemies to us, and that " by the governor's care, to guard against involving the " innocent with the guilty, such clear demonstrations " of christian tenderness might be given, as might " tend to the engaging other neighbouring Indians in " the desirable work of restoring peace and tranquill- " ity ; and at the same time offering, though a " much larger part of their estates should be neces- " sary than the heaviest taxes of a war could be ex- " pected to require, by voluntarily grants cheerfully " to contribute towards the obtaining peace in the " same manner as the unhappy experience of several

" of

" of the most martial neighbouring colonies, had APPEN.
" after long and bloody wars, testified it must at last, No. II.
" if ever, be obtained." Pennsylvania
—
—

Governor Morris was pleased to give a civil answer to this address; but thought it necessary to proceed immediately to a declaration of war: a few days after which, some of us having the opportunity of a free conference with Conrad Weiser, who had, as a provincial interpreter, been long concerned in public transactions with the Indians, we were thereby confirmed in our apprehensions, that some dissatisfaction respecting their lands, had tended to the alienating their friendship from us; and that he thought the only method, to save the province from ruin, was to endeavour for a peace with them by pacific measures; and the next day, a Delaware Indian from the Jerseys was sent to one of us, with a letter from Conrad Weiser, recommending him as a person, worthy of some notice from us and fit to be employed on a message to the Delawares, when an opportunity of sending one could be obtained; and there being at that time a number of the chiefs of the Six Nation Indians in town, some of us thought it necessary to take some friendly notice of them; but being determined to avoid giving any occasion of offence, before we had any conversation with them, two of us waited on governor Morris, and informed him, " that as he had issued his declaration of war, we thought it our duty to acquiesce therein, but, as there were some friendly Indians in town, we were disposed to take some notice of them, and to endeavour by a friendly conversation to manifest our good disposition towards them, and engage their good offices on any occasion, which might be improved for the public welfare; and we at the same time, assured the governor if any thing should occur which had a prospect of tending to the public interest, or might be worthy of his notice, he should be fully acquainted therewith." The governor expressed his approbation of our design, and gave us full liberty to prosecute our intentions, and the next day some of

their

1757

APPEN. these Indian chiefs, with Conrad Weiser, and Andrew No. II. Montour the provincial interpreters, and D. Claus, Pennsylvania, general Johnson's secretary, dined at one of our houses; and after dinner, had some conversation on the happy state of the first settlers of this province, and the unhappy rupture which had lately happened.

1757.

The free and hearty acknowledgments of pleasure and gratitude from these Indians, fully evidenced their good disposition towards us, and induced Conrad Weiser to declare, he had not lately heard them express themselves with so much openness, and he earnestly urged our improving this opportunity; and in order to it he advised the calling together, as many of our antient men of the survivors of the first settlers as we could collect, and to give the Indians another meeting, in which the substance of that conversation might be repeated and enforced on their minds, by presenting them with a belt of wampum. Governor Morris was immediately informed of what had passed, and as there appeared some prospect of improving this disposition of the Indians to the public benefit, he was assured, that if he would advise and direct the manner of proceeding, nothing more was desired by us, than under his direction to proceed therein in such a manner as would be most agreeable to him, most effectually answer the purpose intended, and demonstrate that we did not act from views of private advantage thereby: and lest the differences then subsisting between him and the assembly, about the raising money for the public services, should discourage or retard his engaging therein, he was told, that whatever sum of money should be wanting even to the amount of 5000^l. he should be immediately supplied with, and by every part of our conduct, should find our hearty concern for the public welfare, to be our principal motive. Our purposes appearing acceptable to the governor, about twenty of us with the same interpreters, had two conferences with the Indians, and the most material parts of what they said, were immediately communicated to the governor,

and

and the * proposal of sending three messengers to the APPEN.
Delawares and Shawneſe, being approved of by him, No. II
the necessary provision was made for their setting out,
and proper company provided for their safe conduct
through the improved part of the province; and
when they were ready to proceed on their journey,
the governor being waited on for the passes, and re-
quested to direct what signal they should give on their
return to distinguish them from enemies; while the
passes lay before him ready to be signed, he suddenly
appeared to change his intentions, and signified his
resolution to consult his council on the occasion. The
minutes of our conversation with these Indians being
examined, and signed by the three interpreters, were
immediately after this delivered to the governor; and
his council being summoned, we were informed they
soon agreed, that as he had so lately declared war, any
offers of peace from him would be unseasonable, and
that the method first proposed of the messengers
going with such instructions as they had received
from their own chiefs, was most fit to be pursued.
The next day the Indian chiefs setting out in the
stage-boat for New York, after they were gone, the
messengers refused to perform the service they had
undertaken, and the day following, the governor, in
consequence of some intelligence received from the
governor of New York, concluded to send the messen-
gers in his own name.

To prevent any misrepresentations of our conduct,
as well as to engage the friendship of gentlemen
from whom we hoped to receive more hearty assistance
than we had from those on whom we had hitherto
depended, copies of the minutes of our conversations
with the Indians, and of their answers, were imme-
diately sent to the governor of New York and to
general Johnson, and an earnest application for their
assistance, in engaging the Indians of the Six Nations
to promote the restoration of peace, with an offer of

* This was made by the Indian chief, and the message to be
from them to the Delawares, &c.

cheerfully

APPEND. cheerfully defraying the expense thereof. Governor No. II. Hardy was so kind as to send such an answer, as evidenced his hearty concern for the public welfare, and Penſylva- nia. laid us under ſenſible obligations; and we never received the leaſt hint from general Johnson, of his diſ- approbation of any part of our conduct therein: Under theſe circumſtañces, we had reaſon to apprehend that our intention was approved of, and the ſpee- dy return of the meſſengers with an agreeable anſwer, confirmed us in a reſolution to continue our endeavours to engage as many of our fellow ſubjects as po- feible, to concur with us therein.

The meſſengers being ſent the ſecond time, on their return brought with them the Indian king Teedyufcung, and ſome of his people to Easton; and repeatedly informed us of the neceſſity of our per- fonal attendance there, and maniſteſting thereby, and by contributing towards the expenſes of a ſuitable preſent, the ſincerity of our profeſſions of regard to them, and they were not willing to go back to the Indians without us.

We therefore being informed that governor Morris had reſolved to meet them at Easton, * that the provincial treasury was exhausted, and that the proprie- taries agents refuſed to contribute towards the neceſſary expenſes, and appeared averſe to the promotion of theſe pacific meaſures; a conſiderable number of us thought it neceſſary to enter into a ſubſcription, to- wards raiſing a fund to supply the deficiency of what ought in juſtice to be contributed by the proprie- taries on this occaſion, and a conſiderable ſum was imme- diately ſubſcribed, and governor Morris informed of our inclination to attend at the treaty, and to make ſome addition to the preſent provided at the public expenſe. From the time of the firſt meſſen- gers arriving at Teaogon, the hoſtilities on our no- northern frontiers ceaſed, and a ſtop being put to the cruel deſtañtations that had been committed, an accep- able reſpite was obtained for our diſtrefſed fellow ſub-

* The votes of the assembly prove it.

jecls,

jects, which afforded us real pleasure and satisfaction ; APPEN.
so that all the malicious calumnies and aspersions,
(which then were uttered) were not sufficient to di- No. II.
vert us from the steady prosecution of our purpose. Penfylva-
nia.

Governor Morris being at Easton sometime before us, 1757.
immediately after our arrival there, some of us waited
on him, to repeat our desires of promoting the public
interest, and contributing any assistance in our power,
in such manner as might be most agreeable to him ;
he received us civilly, and expressed his approbation
of our design. At the governor's lodgings we first saw
Teedyuscung the Delaware chief, to whom we were
before utterly strangers ; on our coming in, he im-
mediately expressed his regard for and confidence
in the Quakers, and declared, he would not proceed
to any business, unless we were present ; * and confirm-
ed it so evidently by his subsequent conduct at that
and the ensuing treaty, that we could not without an
unjustifiable neglect of our duty, decline contributing
our utmost endeavours to improve this disposition, to
the interest of our country, so far as we might be
able to do it, consistent with our respective stations in
life.

Governor Morris was afterwards pleased to accept
of the present provided by us, and to deliver it in our
name to the Indians.

After the conclusion of this treaty, governor Mor-
ris thought it necessary, to send captain Newcastle on
a message to the Indians at or near fort Johnson :
but before he was set out, governor Denny arrived,
and succeeded in the government of this province,
and we always apprehended, that in his name, and by
his authority, captain Newcastle went on that message,
as we never interfered therein in any manner what-
ever, and were not informed the particular business he
was charged with. On captain Newcastle's return,
we found by conversing with him, he had given
some offence to general Johnson, and we have since

* This was in the hearing of governor Morris.

had

APPEN. had cause to apprehend * that some gentlemen in
 No. II. higher stations, have been informed, that we had
 Pensylvania,
 sent Newcastle on this message, and given him mat-
 ters in charge, to be privately transacted with the
 Indians, after it was known to us, that the king had
 1757. by a special commission authorized sir William John-
 son, to negotiate all matters of a public concern with
 them; but as we had not given any occasion for such
 a charge, nor were any way concerned in sending
 that message, it affords us a particular pleasure, that
 the governor has given us so favourable an oppor-
 tunity of clearing ourselves from this unjust censure,
 and we hope that this ingenuous account of our con-
 duct, in the course of this business before the governor's
 arrival, will fully evince that we proceeded therein on
 just motives, and with the regard due from us to the
 governor of this province.

It is well known to the governor that on his arrival here, some of us waited on him, and one of us as-
 sured him, of our sincere desire to proceed in contri-
 buting our assistance towards the restoration of peace,
 in a manner most agreeable to him, and consistent
 with our characters and stations. He was then please-
 ed to declare his approbation of our purpose; and
 when we waited on him with our address before the
 second treaty at Easton, the governor by his answer, †
 declared his approbation of our proceedings, and his
 being willing to receive the present we prepared, and
 invited us to attend the treaty: we had reason to con-
 clude, that our conduct there had given the gover-
 nor no occasion of offence, as after the business was
 finished, on our acknowledging his integrity and can-
 dour in the public transactions there, ‡ he gave us

* From the account given by general Johnson to the earl of Loudoun of this journey of Newcastle's, it is thought the earl was induced to express himself in the manner governor Denny has published in his late messages to the assembly.

† This answer was in writing.

‡ He thanked us for our company, and said he was glad we were there, and that his conduct was satisfactory to us, and should endeavour to act so upon all occasions, as to deserve our esteem, &c.

such an answer, as fully expressed his being well pleased with us; and the secretary and provincial interpreter very liberally declared their satisfaction and approbation of our conduct; and the latter fully testified that we had thereby evidently promoted the public interest, and been instrumental in bringing the business so far towards the desired issue.

APPEN.
No. II.
Pennsylva-
nia.

1757.

From that time till the late treaty at Lancaster, we know of no part of our proceedings which could displease the governor, unless our application to the secretary for an inspection of the records in his office had that unexpected effect. Let that should be the case, and the intention and manner of that application be misrepresented by any of the proprietaries agents, and others engaged with them in the measures which have contributed to the present unhappy circumstances of this province, we think it necessary to inform the governor, that this province was settled on terms very different from most of the other colonies; the first adventurers were men of substance and reputation, who purchased the lands of the proprietor, and as he obliged himself and his heirs by an express covenant contained in their original deeds "to clear the land from all titles, claims or demands of the Indian natives, or any other persons whatsoever;" they agreed to pay an annual quit-rent, more than sufficient to enable him to satisfy the Indians, and obtain a peaceable possession of the land; and during the lives of our first proprietor and the first settlers, we believe this was faithfully performed, and so large a balance remained towards making further purchases, as the settlement of the country increased, that any attempt to elude the original intention and agreement of honestly purchasing the land of the people, who had a native right in it, will be ever condemned by all impartial and honest men.

At the second treaty at Lancaster, the governor by his candid and ingenuous treatment of the Indians (as the Micmacs since aptly expressed it) "put his hand into Teedyuscung's bosom, and was so successful as to draw out the secret (which neither

" sir

APPEN. " sir William Johnson nor the Six Nations could
No. II. " do.") From that time it was generally known,
Pennsylvania. that one cause of the alienation of their friendship,
was some injustice they had received or supposed to
1757. be done them in the purchases and running out of
their lands. They complained of divers kinds of
frauds, which had been committed, repeatedly urged
that an impartial enquiry should be made into the
grounds of their complaints, by searching all our re-
cords, and by the strong motives of a regard to our
temporal and eternal interest, urged the governor to
give liberty to all persons and friends, to search into
those matters. Thus we thought ourselves under the
strongest obligations, to make all the enquiry in our
power, into the true state of the Indian claims, whe-
ther or not such care had been taken to purchase
and pay them for the lands, as the proprietaries
agents had constantly asserted. The right of many of
us who hold large tracts of land under the first set-
tlers, the governor's repeated declarations, both in
public and private, that those matters should be honest-
ly and fully enquired into, and the Indians injunc-
tions, that this should be done not only by the persons
thus complained of, or their agents, but by others
likewise interested therein, united in engaging our
particular attention, and gave us a reasonable prospect
of meeting with the governor's approbation; and
though the secretary refused to permit us to pro-
ceed therein, by inspecting the records in his office,
we still had cause to think our farther application, to
the necessary and important concern of regaining
peace, was not contrary to the governor's inclination,
as on our informing him of our intention to attend
the treaty at Lancaster, and our willingness to contrib-
ute towards the expenses of the present to be given
to the Indians there, the governor with the utmost
readiness expressed his approbation of our proposal;
and we are not conscious of having at that treaty or
since, given the least occasion for the alteration of
his conduct towards us; which from the answer now
received,

received, and the conversation consequent thereon, we APPEN.
have occasion to observe.

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nia.

1757.

We have no views inconsistent with the honour of our gracious king, and the interest of our country, both which we sincerely endeavour to promote; we have heartily desired that people of every denomination in the province, would unite in the same good purpose, and particularly in this business, that the same harmony and good understanding, which subsisted between the first settlers of the province and the natives, might be revived and maintained, and we have happily succeeded with several religious societies, who have raised funds, and are ready to apply them towards restoring peace: and if the complaints of the Indians appear to be just, and the proprietaries and their agents should refuse to make them such satisfaction as in justice they ought to have, rather than the lives of our fellow subjects should be sacrificed, their properties destroyed, and so large a part of the king's dominions laid waste, they will freely join with us, in contributing towards the satisfying such just claims of the Indians, or at least to pacify them, till the immediate authority of the king, of whose justice and paternal care we have not the least doubt, can be interposed, and justice, equity, and mercy be again restored and maintained amongst us.

And if we are now so happy, as to convince the governor of the integrity of our intentions and conduct, we shall have reason to hope, he will concur with us, in taking the first opportunity of convincing the nobleman he has named, that it must be from some unjust representations, that he was induced to think, "we had presumed to treat with foreign "princes, or by acting as mediators, between the "government and an independent people, invaded "the king's prerogative royal." We apprehend our duty to God and the king, have engaged us in this business and some of the good effects thereof have already appeared; we therefore now again offer the governor,

APPEN. governor, to contribute something considerable towards the present, necessary to be made to the Indians at the ensuing treaty, and by our personal attendance to improve the confidence and good opinion these people have of us, to the public benefit.

1757.

Should the governor persist in refusing to accept our present; we assure him, we shall not by any part of our conduct, give any just occasion to charge us with a disrespectful conduct towards him, and we desire our attendance at the treaty may not be considered as such. The business to be transacted there, is of so much consequence to the lives, liberties, and properties of the people of this province, that should we omit to attend there, and depend on the governor and the king's agent, receiving all their information on this important occasion, from the proprietaries agents and others, who have for some years past been concerned in the transacting Indian affairs, we should be deficient of our duty as christians and Englishmen, denominations we hold more dear to us, than any other titles or appellations whatsoever.

Signed on behalf and by appointment of the said trustees and treasurer, by

Philadelphia, 14th }
of seventh month, }
1757.

ABEL JAMES, Clerk.

The next day after the delivery of the foregoing address to the governor, the same committee who presented it, waited on him by direction to inform him of their intention to print it, and requested the governor to acquaint them, whether he had any objections to their also printing his answer to their first verbal application to him; about three hours after, he sent them the two following answers.

Philadelphia,

Philadelphia, 15th July, 1757, APPEN.
12 o'Clock.

(Copy)

No. II.
Pennsylva-
nia.

1757.

Gentlemen,

As you know I am desired and most strictly enjoined not to suffer any particular body or society to concern themselves in treaties with Indians, or on any pretence to give presents to them, it is out of my power to permit your presents to be given. I shall once more repeat my advice; you would do well to decline appearing at the ensuing treaty in a body; your attendance at treaties as a distinct society, having given great offence to the ministry.

WILLIAM DENNY.

To Mr. Israel Pemberton,
and the other Gentlemen.

Philadelphia, 15th July, 1757,
2 o'Clock.

(Copy)

Gentlemen,

Your address, in some parts of it, which relate to transactions that have passed since my administration, misrepresents several important facts, and contains some reflection on the conduct of the proprietaries, and their agents here, in managing the affairs of the Indians, which I hope will be found to be without the least foundation. I cannot therefore conceive it seasonable, or proper at this time, for you to print it; especially when it is considered, that the publishing it may tend to inflame the minds of the Indians, and obstruct the business of the ensuing treaty at Easton, where the complaints made by them will be fully

APPEN fully and impartially heard, and I hope finally ac-
No. II. commodated.

Pensylva-
nia.

WILLIAM DENNY.

1757. To Mr. Israel Pemberton,
and the other Gentlemen.

On consideration of which they sent him the fol-
lowing address.

May it please the governor,

Nothing less than a regard to the public interest would engage us to decline fully complying with the governor's advice, not to attend the ensuing Indian treaty; though we have reason to believe the proprietaries instructions to the governor on this occasion are grounded on some false and unjust informations sent from hence.

Our application this day was to desire the governor would be so kind as to inform us, whether he had any objections to our printing his answer, in which the earl of Halifax is said to have called the Indians "fo-
" reign princes and an independent people," but the answer the governor has now been pleased to send us relates solely to our address; as it is contrary to our intention—to misrepresent any transaction before or since the governor's administration; we shall esteem it a favour to have those parts pointed out; which the governor thinks in any respect exceptionable.

What we have said concerning the proprietaries and their agents is grounded on the public records —The governor's refusing to consent to accept of our contribution, or our offer of attending the treaty has given much encouragement to the adversaries of the peace of the province, to repeat their malevolent assertions and calumnies against us; but to manifest our regard to the public interest, to be greater than to our private characters; we shall for a few days suspend the printing of our address, that there may be

no

no possibility of charging us by the publication "with APPEN.
" inflaming the minds of the Indians."

No. II.
Pennsylva-
nia.

Signed by appointment, and on behalf of the trustees and treasurer of the friendly association——for regaining and preserving peace with the Indians by pacific measures.

1757.

15th of 7th month,
1757.

ABEL JAMES, Clerk.

A P P E N D I X, No. III.

Abstract from the Report of the Committee of Council, appointed to enquire into the Complaints of the Indians at the Treaty at Easton, the 8th of November, 1756.

To William Denny, Esq. Lieutenant Governor, &c. of the Province of Pennsylvania, and Counties of New-Castle, Kent and Sussex on Delaware.

1756.

Upon the whole it is very evident to us; and so we presume it must appear to all unprejudiced persons, that there is not the least shadow of foundation for any part of the complaint made by Teedyuscung, on behalf of the Indians against the proprietaries, we must therefore attribute his exhibiting that groundless and false charge against them to some undue influence, or to the difficulty he was under to invent any other plausible pretext for the cruel murders and horrid devastations committed by them on our back inhabitants, and for their base ungrateful breach of faith, and the many treaties made, and so solemnly and frequently renewed with us, even so lately as the spring before they committed those shocking murders and cruelties on our borders: and we cannot but think that, instead of this false cause which Teedyuscung has thought fit to assign for their taking part with the enemy against us, he might with greater

APPEN. truth have mentioned that, of our refusing, or ne-
No. III. glecting (though so frequently and earnestly request-
Pennsylva- ed) to offer them protection, and give them the
nia. hatchet, and to join, and go out with them against
1756. the French, as we have before observed; but the
people who have since that time appeared so inde-
fatigably industrious to engross all the management
of the Indians to themselves (in which your honour
must be sensible as well as we, they have but too well
succeeded) were chiefly the same who made up a great
majority of the assembly, at the time when the house
from their avowed religious principles, or from what
other motives they best know, refused, or declined
to concur with the governor in giving the hatchet to,
and joining with those Indians against the enemy:
and as they cannot but be conscious, that they justly
deserve, and must have incurred great blame on that
account, if the Indians should have given that for
the reason of their joining with the French against us:
we are better able to account for these people being
so numerous at all the late Indian treaties, and upon
all occasions so very forward and anxious to ingratiate
themselves with the Indians, and for Teedyuscung's
choosing to offer these imaginary reasons for his quar-
rel with us, rather than the true one.

We are, Sir,

Your most humble Servants,

LYNFORD LARDNER, &c.

H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
P E O P L E C A L L E D Q U A K E R S.

B O O K VII.

From the beginning of the present Reign
to the Year 1764.

C H A P. I.

George III. succeeds to the Throne.—Address to him.—Address to the Princess Dowager of Wales.—Francis Hart is prosecuted by Mary Jerom for reading a Testimony of Denial.—Address on the Peace.—Account of John Goodwin.

GEORGE II. was succeeded by his grand-
son George III. our present sovereign, son to
Frederick, late prince of Wales, who died in
the year 1751, greatly and generally lamented,
as he was generally beloved. Addresses to
the young king, being sent up from all quarters,
the people called Quakers in London, also drew
up, and appointed a deputation to wait upon
the king with the following address.

M m 2

To

C H A P. I.
To George III. King of Great Britain and the
Dominions thereunto belonging.

1760.

The humble Address of his Protestant Subjects
the People called Quakers.

May it please the King,

‘ Deeply affected with the sudden and sorrowful event, that leads our fellow-subjects with condolence to the throne, we beg leave to express the sympathy we feel on this occasion.

‘ Justly sensible of the favour and protection we have enjoyed during the late mild and happy reign, and impressed with the warmest sentiments of duty and gratitude to our deceased sovereign, we pay this tribute of unaffected grief to the memory of the father and friend of his people.

‘ We have abundant reason to acknowledge the goodness of Almighty God, for continuing to this period a life of such importance to the welfare of these kingdoms; a period when we behold a prince endowed with qualities that add lustre to a crown, formed by tuition and example to protect the liberties of his people, ascending the British throne; and in the earliest acts of power, giving the most ample demonstration of his royal regard for piety and virtue.

‘ Ever faithful and zealously affected to thy illustrious house, though differing in sentiments and conduct from others of our fellow-subjects, we embrace this opportunity to crave thy indulgence and protection, and beg leave ‘ to

‘ to assure the king that our dissent proceeds C H A P.
 ‘ not from a contumacious disregard to the I.
 ‘ laws, to custom or authority, but from motives 1760.
 ‘ to us purely conscientious.

‘ The same religious principles that produce
 ‘ this dissent, we trust, through divine assistance,
 ‘ will continue to engage us as it always hath
 ‘ done since we were a people, to exert what-
 ‘ ever influence we may be possessed of in pro-
 ‘ moting the fear of God, the honour of the
 ‘ king, and the prosperity of his subjects.

‘ May the Almighty bless thy endeavours to
 ‘ put a stop to the effusion of blood, and render
 ‘ thee the happy instrument of restoring peace
 ‘ and tranquillity.

‘ May sacred and unerring wisdom be thy
 ‘ guide, adorn thee with every virtue, and
 ‘ crown thee with every blessing; that future
 ‘ ages may commemorate the happiness of thy
 ‘ reign with grateful admiration.

Signed on behalf of the said people in
 London, the 1st of 12th month, 1760, by 220
 friends.

The Answer.

‘ This dutiful and loyal address is very ac-
 ‘ ceptable to me, and you may depend on my
 ‘ protection.’

They also presented an address to his mother,
 the princess of Wales, viz.

May it please the Princess Dowager of Wales.

‘ We the people called Quakers, beg leave
 ‘ to testify our grief for the loss we have sustain-
 ‘ ed

C H A P. ^{I.} ed by the decease of our late gracious sove-
1760. reign; duty as well as gratitude for the fa-
 vours we enjoyed during his long and happy
 reign, claim our unfeigned regard to his me-
 mory, and to every part of the royal family
 our most grateful attachment.

‘ As the afflictions that befal them very deep-
 ly affect us, so we share in the blessings they
 enjoy, and we sincerely rejoice at the happy
 accession of thy son, our sovereign, to the
 throne of these kingdoms.

‘ The noble proofs he has already given of
 great and illustrious qualities, sufficiently point
 out how much we are indebted to a mother’s
 early care in his education.

‘ It will we trust, be our constant endeavour
 to manifest our dutiful affection to the prin-
 ceps, and our cheerful obedience and fidelity
 to the king, by a conduct becoming our religi-
 ous profession. May the Almighty pour
 down his choicest blessings on every branch
 of the royal family; may they be regarded
 as the ornaments of the present age, and as
 examples of virtue in succeeding generations.’

To which she returned an answer, as nearly
 as can be recollectcd, as follows.

‘ I am much obliged to you for your kind
 attention to me and my family.’

1761. A cause occurs in this year, whereby the vali-
 dity of the discipline of this society was brought
 to a legal trial, an occurrence of which I know
 no other instance. Mary Jerom, a young woman
 of Nottingham, who had been educated by her
 parents

Francis Hart pro-
 secuted by
 Mary Jerom.

parents in this society, and by them left in possession of a considerable property, having been in various parts of her conduct, very inconsistent with a life of self-denial, and the religious principles of this people, and for some time mostly neglected the attendance of the meetings of divine worship; and as wrong conduct is frequently attended with or productive of erroneous sentiment, she had also imbibed erroneous notions, contrary to scripture doctrine; wherefore her conduct came under the cognizance of friends of Nottingham monthly meeting. According to the salutary discipline of the society, they appointed friends to pay her religious visits, to use endeavours in gospel love to inform and reclaim her; but she seems to have been lifted up in her mind above the reception of advice. The labour of love extended to her proved ineffectual, she rejected their admonition, and persisted in the same line of conduct, and justified herself therein. The meeting therefore, after a deliberate consideration of the case in all its circumstances, thought it necessary to bear a testimony of their disunity with her said sentiments and conduct; which being drawn up, approved and authenticated, was ordered to be published in the customary way. It was accordingly read after the time of worship in the meeting-house of Nottingham, by Francis Hart, clerk of the monthly meeting, and a copy thereof handed to her a few days after.

The high spirit of this female was so mortified and provoked by this act of discipline, that instead of reflecting on her own conduct, which had made it necessary to preserve consistency, and prevent confusion in the society; depending upon

CHAP. upon her abundance, she formed a resolution to
I obtain satisfaction, as far as money could
1761. effect it.

First, upon an affidavit of the publication thereof by Francis Hart, by reading the same, &c. she moved the court of King's Bench for an information against him for a libel, but the court, looking upon it as a case by no means proper for such a prosecution, asked the counsellor who moved it, if he was really in earnest, and upon his affirmative reply, rejected the motion, and refused to grant a rule even to shew cause.

Although disappointed in this first application the said Mary Jerom desisted not from prosecuting her purpose. For on the 12th of 3d month, 1762, she preferred an indictment for a libel against Francis Hart, at the assizes at Nottingham, grounded on the publication of the said paper in the manner above stated, and having prevailed with the grand jury to find the bill, to which Hart pleaded not guilty, the cause was tried at Nottingham the 30th of 3d month, 1762, before judge Clive, when it was insisted by Francis Hart's council, that the paper in question was not a libel, (according to the legal definition of a libel laid down in Hawke) being only an ordinary and usual act of church discipline, according to the rules of the religious society to which the said Mary Jerom the prosecutrix had belonged, and that what was called a publication of it, was nothing more than a compliance with the said rules, without any malice in Francis Hart towards the prosecutrix, or intent to blacken her reputation or expose her to public hatred, contempt or ridicule. And the judge in his charge to the jury declared

ed as his opinion, that the paper in question C H A P. (notwithstanding the endeavours used in framing the indictment to extract scandal out of it, by means of forced constructions, with a view to make it a libel) did not really contain such scandal, nor did it, under the circumstances in which it appeared to the court, amount to a libel.

Notwithstanding which, the jury after going out of court, and deliberating about three hours upon the matter, brought in their verdict, finding the defendant guilty, contrary to the general expectation of those who were present at the trial, who from the judge's charge to the jury were persuaded that he would have been acquitted.

Neither could the judge forbear expressing his surprize when the jury returned him their verdict (which was at his lodgings, the court being adjourned) and to shew them that he differed in sentiment with them, he told them he would take care the fine should be very small. Francis Hart finding himself greatly aggrieved by this verdict, did, by advice of his counsel on the 10th of 11th month, 1762, move the court of King's Bench for a new trial. On hearing the nature of the cause opened by his counsel which was confirmed by the judge, who tried the cause, who added his dissatisfaction at the verdict found by the jury, the court ordered the prosecutrix's counsel, serjeant Hewit, if he had any cause to shew against the motion he should urge it then, for that they would not give so much countenance to the prosecution, as to make a rule to shew cause; and accordingly the court made an absolute rule for a new trial. Immediately upon which serjeant Hewit came out

CHAP. out of the court, and told two friends then present, that if the plaintiff would be advised by him, he would take care the defendant or his friends should have no further trouble; and, as far as appears, there was no further procedure in the matter.

1762. The injudicious and illegal verdict of the Nottingham jury in this case might have been productive of very troublesome consequences to the society, if Francis Hart and his friends had quietly submitted under it. But the judgment of the King's Bench both before and after the trial, exhibiting a clear evidence that in the concurring opinion of the justices of that court, the writing in question, under its circumstances, was not a libel; but as this society was legally tolerated, and as every orderly society civil or religious must have some common principles and rules of conduct, as external marks of discrimination between those who are members and those who are not, the simple declaration that any person for the causes specified had forfeited his or her membership therein was not only no libel, but requisite to the well ordering of any society. This judgment of the principals of the law prevented this high spirited woman from carrying her resentment to the length she designed, to oblige the monthly meeting of Nottingham to erase all their proceedings in her cause. Her counsellor, most probably, had informed her that in case of a new trial it would be likely to go against her, and if she did not give up the cause, it must go on.

The final termination of this affair did not only release this innocent and worthy man from further trouble and perplexity; but had a beneficial

ficial tendency to discourage some others from similar proceedings.

The nation had been for several years engaged in a war with France, which was not yet terminated, when the present king ascended the throne, but was carried on for a year or two longer against France and Spain in conjunction. It was at last terminated by a treaty of peace concluded at Paris, the 10th of 2d month, 1763. In consequence whereof friends at their ensuing yearly meeting thought it expedient to present an address to the king, and appointed a committee to draw one up, which being done, was presented to the king by a deputation of said meeting, and read by John Fothergill, who introduced it with the following preface.

“ I think myself happy in being appointed
“ once more to convey the sentiments of the
“ people called Quakers to the king, and at
“ the same time to have it in my power to ac-
“ quaint him, that the address which I beg
“ leave to offer to the king, was proposed and
“ solemnly and unanimously agreed to in a
“ very large assembly of the aforesaid people;
“ the only difficulty attending it being the choice
“ of terms sufficiently strong, in which to ex-
“ press our duty and affection.”

To George III. King of Great Britain and the
Dominions thereunto belonging.

The humble Address of his Protestant Subjects
the People called Quakers.

May it please the King,

‘ Being met in this our annual assembly from
‘ various parts of Great Britain and Ireland,
‘ for the worship of Almighty God, and the
promotion

C H A P. promotion of piety and virtue, we embrace
 I. the opportunity which the restoration of peace
1763. affords us, to testify our affection to thy royal
 person and family, and our dutiful submission
 to thy government,

To a people professing that the use of arms
 is to them unlawful; a people who reverence
 the glorious gospel declaration of good will to
 men, and fervently wish for the universal
 establishment of peace, its return must be
 highly acceptable.

To stop the effusion of blood, to ease the
 burden of thy people, and terminate the cala-
 mies that affect so large a part of the globe,
 we are persuaded were thy motives to effect
 the present pacification; motives so just in
 themselves, so full of benevolence and humi-
 lity, demand our united and cordial appro-
 bation.

May the sovereign of the universe, who
 created all nations of one blood, dispose the
 minds of princes by such examples, to learn
 other means of reconciling their jarring inter-
 ests and contentions, than by the ruin of coun-
 tries and destruction of mankind.

The proofs we have received of thy royal
 condescension and indulgence, the lasting im-
 pressions of gratitude to the memory of the
 kings of thy illustrious house, fill our hearts at
 this time with the warmest sentiments of affec-
 tion and duty.

Strongly impressed by such sentiments we
 return to our respective habitations, with full
 purpose to cultivate as much as in us lies, a
 spirit of harmony and concord, so essentially
 necessary to the dignity of the crown and hap-
 piness of the subject. May God, the source
 of

‘ of every blessing, the fountain of every excellence,
 ‘ lence, ever graciously direct thy steps and
 ‘ preserve thee long to rule over thy extensive
 ‘ dominions, with that wisdom, moderation and
 ‘ equity, which effectually secure to princes
 ‘ the cheerful obedience of their people, and
 ‘ transmit their names with deserved honour to
 ‘ posterity.’

To which the king was pleased to return the following answer.

‘ These repeated assurances of your affection
 ‘ to my person and family, and of your duty to
 ‘ my government, are agreeable to me and can-
 ‘ not fail to insure to you the continuance of
 ‘ my protection.’

In the year 1763, died John Goodwin of Account of Eskyrgoch in Montgomeryshire, North Wales, John Goodwin, a man of a low station in the world, yet an eminent minister of the gospel, being instrumental to turn many from darkness to light, and from the power of satan to the power of God; so that he might well be numbered among the valiants of Israel, and has justly been esteemed one of the principal worthies of our age.

His father and mother were both convinced of truth about the same time, and received it in the love of it. At that time his father was clerk to the parish and master of the free-school thereof; but upon his joining with friends, and giving up faithfully to divine conviction, he was turned out of both these places, and obliged to have recourse to hard labour, wherein his mother heartily joined; but John, their eldest child,

CHAP. child, then well grown toward the state of a
 L. youth, not understanding their cause, thought
 1763. them fools to turn Quakers, and resolved he
 would not be like them in that; nor did they
 offer any compulsion to him therein. But their
 prayers, put up to the Lord for him, were mani-
 festly answered, and they had in their son the
 comfort they desired. At this time friends
 were grown numerous in Wales; but soon after,
 by the encouragement given by William Penn,
 most of the friends in some parts of that princi-
 pality removed and settled in Pennsylvania, and
 amongst the rest John's father and mother,
 with most of their children. From inclination,
 he would have removed with them; but a
 higher power directed his stay in his native
 land; and to that he gave up father and mo-
 ther and every thing. This account of John
 Goodwin is principally taken from the writings
 of a friend lately deceased*, who received it
 from his own mouth. The great favours of
 the Lord to him, he recounted to the following
 purport,

“ When the Lord pointed out poor Wales
 “ as a field of labour for me, he promised that
 “ if I was faithful to him in it, he would be
 “ with me and favour me therein; and now I
 “ have in my heart a testimony for him in my
 “ old age, that he hath abundantly made good
 “ his promise to me, both outwardly and in-
 “ wardly, far beyond what at that day I could
 “ have ever expected.”

In his early days he lived and maintained
 his wife and family by the labour of his hands,
 on

* See the life of James Gough.

on a farm of four pounds a year; but at length C H A P. was enabled to purchase it, and so improved ^{I.} it, as that it became worth six pounds a year. ^{1763.}

The first journey he travelled in the ministry, he had then got of clear money about forty shillings; and he was free to spend it (if there was occasion) in the Lord's service, knowing that he could enable him to get more.

When he first began to entertain travelling friends, he had but one bed, which he left to them, he and his wife taking up their lodging in the stable.

He filled up the several duties of life with good repute, being an affectionate husband, a tender father and a good neighbour. He was of an upright life and conversation, a fervent lover of the cause of truth, and zealous for the support of its testimony in all its branches.

He continued fresh and lively to old age, and about three weeks before his decease, at the last public meeting which he attended, he was enabled to bear a testimony in the life and power of truth, in a very remarkable manner, and after meeting said, "He was fully clear of the people, and released from that service;" signifying, "his time here was near a conclusion, and that now after a painful affliction, he should soon be at rest with the righteous, for which he longed," yet said, "Let patience have its perfect work."

During his illness he appeared to be in an heavenly frame of mind, abounding with praises to God for his continued mercies, often expressing "How valuable is the enjoyment of the love of God on a dying bed." He desired his love might be remembered to his brethren and sisters in Christ, being sensible and clear in his

C H A P. his understanding to the last hour, he quietly
 I.
 1763. departed this life, as one falling into a deep
 sleep, the 7th of 12th month, 1763, aged 82
 years.

" * The foregoing narrative of the life of
 " this worthy elder may convey profitable in-
 " struction to every class of readers whether of
 " high or low degree. To the former a lesson
 " of instruction how humbly thankful they
 " ought to be to the gracious Giver of all good
 " things for his extensive bounty to them, when
 " they consider this truly good man, in circum-
 " stances, which we should reckon mean in-
 " deed, and a manner of living suitable to his
 " circumstances, bearing a lively and grateful tes-
 " stimony to the goodness, mercy and truth of
 " the Lord in his gracious dealings with him.
 " Also when he dedicates his little all (in faith)
 " to his Lord's service, doth he not in the silent
 " and reaching language of example, convey this
 " intelligence to thy soul, who art blessed with
 " abundance? Go thou and do likewise; ho-
 " nour the Lord with thy substance, and the
 " first fruits of thine encrease; love mercy, and
 " walk humbly with thy God; deeply ponder-
 " ing in thy heart, how much oweſt thou to the
 " Lord?

" And those of low circumstances from
 " hence may learn, that happiness is not con-
 " fined to any particular station of life; but is
 " the result of observing the law of God in the
 " inward parts, being (as it prescribes) content
 " with the things which we have, not minding
 " high things, but reducing our desires to the
 " level of our station in life, that so we may fill
 " it

* Life of James Gough.

“ it with propriety. If we thus walk by the C H A P.
“ unerring rule of truth, though we be esteem- ^{1.}
“ ed poor in this world, we shall be rich in ^{1763.}
“ faith, and, with this good man, enjoy, in the
“ obscurity of the humble cottage what palaces
“ too seldom afford, solid content, the consola-
“ tion of a conscience void of offence, and in
“ reward of well doing, the peace of God that
“ passeth the understandings of men. The
“ most splendid and extensive earthly posses-
“ sions, when laid in the balance against du-
“ rable possessions like these, are indeed as no-
“ thing and lighter than vanity.”

C H A P. II.

P E N S Y L V A N I A.

A Spirit of Enmity remains in Pennsylvania.—Account of the Indians at Conestogoe.—These Indians address the Governor.—Six of them are murdered in their Huts.—Proclamation is issued for taking the Murderers.—Fourteen Indians are murdered in the Work-house at Lancaster.—A second Proclamation.—Other friendly Indians are removed to Philadelphia for Protection.—Further Mischief is intended.—Governor consults the Inhabitants of the City.—Rioters come within six Miles of Philadelphia.—Governor sends some to speak with them.—They deliver a Remonstrance and return Home.—Address of the People called Quakers to the Governor.

I R E L A N D.

Death of the Author of this History.—Testimony concerning the Author.

CHAP.
II.
1763.
Spirit of
enmity
remains
in Pennsyl-
vania.

THE affairs of this society in England furnish few or no remarkable materials for history at this period of time; but in Pennsylvania a spirit of bitter enmity against this people was still retained and disseminated by a restless party, who, as hath been before remarked, had for some time past been endeavouring to raise tumults in this state. The honest endeavours of friends to promote a reconciliation with the Indians

Indians and the success attending them, gave a C H A P.
new edge to the acrimony of their opposers,
because these measures thwarted the views of —————
these men, who, without regard to the public
good or the principles of christianity, wished
the continuance of public disturbances to ad-
vance their private ends. A mutinous and
lawless spirit was by them industriously foment-
ed amongst the most ignorant and ferocious inha-
bitants of the frontiers, whereby they were
instigated to the commission of a crime of the
utmost turpitude in itself, and utterly detestable
by all moderate and humane persons, as a hein-
ous violation of the laws of christianity, morali-
ty and hospitality.

* A small body of Indians, the remains of a tribe of the six nations, were settled at a place called Conestogoe. On the first arrival of the English in Pennsylvania, messengers from this tribe came to welcome them, ^{Account of the Indians at Conef-} togoe. and brought them presents of venison, corn and skins; and the whole tribe entered into a treaty of friendship with the first proprietor William Penn (as hath been noticed in its place.) This treaty was to last as long as the sun should shine, or the waters run in the rivers. The treaty had been frequently renewed, and the chain brightened, as they express it, from time to time. As their lands by degrees came mostly into the hands of the white people by successive purchases, the proprietor assigned them lands on the manor of Conestogoe, to be re-

N n 2 tained

* Narrative of the late massacres in Lancaster of a number of Indians, friends of this province, printed in 1764.

C H A P. tained for their own use and habitation. There
II. they lived many years in friendship with their
1763 European neighbours and their descendants, by
 whom they were regarded with affection for
 their peaceful and inoffensive behaviour.

This tribe was greatly diminished in number from the time when the European planters first arrived in their neighbourhood. There remained in their town no more than twenty persons, viz. seven men, five women, and eight children. This little society continued the custom, which they had begun when they were a more numerous body, of addressing every new governor, and every descendant of the first proprietor, welcoming him to the province, assuring him of their fidelity, and requesting a continuance of that favour and protection, they had hitherto experienced. They had sent up an address of the same kind to the present governor, John Penn, as he had lately succeeded William Denny in the government, who, I presume, might have resigned the office, which must have become very uneasy to him, pressed on one hand by the apprehended exigencies of the state; on the other, cramped by proprietary instructions, and involved thereby in disagreeable altercations with the assembly, who entertained a confirmed jealousy of these instructions and of the political views of the proprietors to take advantage of the present difficult and distressed circumstances of the province, to wrest from them and their constituents some of their chartered privileges, and to invade their constitutional rights.

The last address was but just delivered, and the new governor scarce settled in his government,

Conestogoe
Indians
address the
governor.

ment, when on the 14th of 12th month, 1763, C H A P. fifty-seven men from some of the frontier settlements, who had projected the destruction of this little community, came all well mounted, and armed with muskets, hangers and hatchets to Conestogoe manor, having travelled through the country in the night. There they surrounded the small village of Indian huts, and just at the dawn of day broke into them all at once. Only two men three women and a young boy were found at home, the rest being absent about their lawful occasions. These poor defenceless creatures were immediately fired upon, stabbed and hatchetted to death. The good Shæhæs* among the rest they cut to pieces in his bed: all of them were scalped and otherwise horribly mangled; their huts were set on fire and most of them burned down. The assassins then rode off, and in small parties, by different roads went home.

Six of the Indians
are mur-
dered in
their huts.

The

* Shæhæs (as described in the narrative) was a very old man, having assisted at the second treaty, held with the Indians by William Penn, in 1701, and ever since continued a faithful and affectionate friend to the English, he is said to have been an exceeding good man, considering his education, being of a most kind and benevolent temper. It is said that he being before told, that it was to be feared, that some English might come from the frontiers into the country, and murder him and his people, he replied, "It is impossible: there are Indians indeed in the woods, who would kill me and mine, if they could get at us, for my friendship to the English; but the English will wrap me up in their match-coats, and secure me from all danger." How lamentably was he mistaken!

C H A P.

II.

1763.

The tidings of this barbarous transaction filled the neighbouring white people, who were not abettors, with dismay and abhorrence. And the lamentations of the younger Indians, when they returned, and beheld the desolation and the butchered half burned bodies of their murdered parents and other relations, were excessive and affecting to the last degree.

The magistrates of Lancaster sent out to collect the remaining Indians, brought them into the town for their greater security against any further attempts; took them by the hand, and promised them protection. They were all put into the work-house, a strong building, as the place of greatest safety.

The governor issues a proclamation for apprehending the murderers. The astonishing news of this dismal and disgraceful catastrophe soon reached Philadelphia; whereupon a proclamation was issued by the governor, charging all judges, magistrates, officers, civil and military, and all other liege subjects to make diligent search and inquiry after the authors and perpetrators of the said crime, their abettors and accomplices, and to use all possible means to apprehend and secure them in some of the public jails of the province, that they might be brought to their trials, and be proceeded against according to law.

Too many of the inhabitants of the town and county of Lancaster seeming rather to approve than discourage their sanguinary achievement, added audacious insolence to the wanton ferocity of these cruel men. So that neither the precaution of placing the Indians in a place of security, nor the proclamation issued by the governor intimidated them from prosecuting their wicked purpose in defiance of all justice, rule

rule and government. Having got intelligence C H A P.
that the remaining fourteen Indians were in the ^{H.}
work-house of Lancaster, on the 27th of the ¹⁷⁶³
same month, they entered that town (which is ^{Fourteen}
large and populous, containing several thousand
inhabitants) fifty of them armed as before, dis-
mounting, went directly to the work-house, by ^{Indians}
force broke open the door, and barbarously ^{murdered}
murdered all the Indians confined there, on
their bended knees protesting their innocence
and attachment to the English, and with up-
lifted hands imploring their lives; unarmed
men; helpless women, and innocent infants—
all murdered—in cold blood.

The rioters who committed this atrocious
deed, in violation of all laws, human and
divine, then mounted their horses, huzza'd in
triumph, as if they had accomplished a laudable
exploit, and rode off—unmolested. Although
a number of the king's soldiers were then in the
barracks there, whose officers declared they
were ready to assist the magistrates, if they had
been called upon, and, by their conduct after-
wards manifested their willingness and ability to
do so.

Upon this second massacre, a second procla- ^{1764.}
mation was issued by the governor in the fol-
lowing terms.

“ Whereas on the twenty-second day of De- ^{A second}
“ cember last, I issued a proclamation for the ^{proclama-}
“ apprehending and bringing to justice, a num- ^{tion issued.}
“ ber of persons, who in violation of the public
“ faith, and in defiance of all law, had inhu-
“ manly killed six of the Indians who had
“ lived in Conestogoe manor, for the course of
“ many

CHAP. II.
1764.

" many years, peaceably and inoffensively, under the protection of this government, on lands assigned to them for their habitation; notwithstanding which, I have received information that on the twenty-seventh of the same month, a large party of armed men again assembled and met together in a riotous and tumultuous manner, in the county of Lancaster, proceeded to the town of Lancaster, where they violently broke open the workhouse, and butchered and put to death fourteen of the said Conestogoe Indians, men, women and children, who had been taken under the immediate care and protection of the magistrates of the said county, and lodged for their better security in the said workhouse; till they should be more effectually provided for by order of the government. And whereas common justice loudly demands, and the laws of the land (upon the preservation of which not only the liberty and security of every individual, but the being of the government itself depend) require that the above offenders should be brought to condign punishment; I have therefore, by and with the advice of the council, published this proclamation, and do hereby strictly charge and command all judges, justices, sheriffs, constables, officers civil and military, and all other his majesty's faithful and liege subjects within this province, to make diligent search and inquiry after the authors and perpetrators of the said last mentioned offence, their abettors and accomplices, and that they use all possible means to apprehend and secure them in some of the public jails of this

“ this province, to be dealt with according to c H A P.
“ law.” II.

“ And I do hereby further promise and en-
“ gage that any person or persons, who shall
“ apprehend and secure, or cause to be appre-
“ hended and secured any three of the ring-lead-
“ ers of the said party, and prosecute them to
“ conviction, shall have and receive for each,
“ the public reward of two hundred pounds ;
“ and any accomplice, not concerned in the
“ immediate shedding the blood of the said
“ Indians, who shall make discovery of any or
“ either of the said ring-leaders, and apprehend
“ and prosecute them to conviction, shall, over
“ and above the said reward, have all the
“ weight and influence of the government, for
“ obtaining his majesty’s pardon for his of-
“ fence.”

1764.

“ Given under my hand and the great
“ seal of the said province, at Phi-
“ ladelphia, the second day of
“ January, in the fourth year of
“ his majesty’s reign, and in the
“ year of our Lord, one thousand
“ leven hundred and sixty-four.

JOHN PENN.

By his honour’s command
JOSEPH SHIPPEN, junior, sec.

GOD save the KING.

These proclamations produced no discovery ;
the murderers and their partisans having given
out such threatenings against those who disap-
proved

C H A P. proved their proceedings, that the whole country seemed to be terrified, and not one durst discover what he knew; even letters from thence were unsigned, in which any dislike to these shocking enormities was expressed.

1764.

Neither doth it appear that proper measures were taken by the magistrates in that county for the purpose of discovering the criminals. Indeed whether it proceeded from fear or favour, the conduct of these magistrates seems highly reprehensible; to confine the poor creatures under promise of protection, and suffer them to be butchered, as before their faces, in violation of their good faith; and make no effort either to give them the protection which they had promised, or to apprehend and bring to justice the perpetrators; either of which one might presume they might have effected.

Having proceeded so far with impunity, it increased their insolence; filled with rage against all Indians, they seemed determined to destroy them in like manner, in defiance of the government itself, they prevailed with others to join them, with a view to encrease the number of offenders, so much as to render it dangerous or difficult to bring them to justice. There yet remained a number of friendly Indians, who had put themselves under the immediate protection of government, by whose orders they were removed to the city of Philadelphia, from the plantations, on which most of them had lived many years under the care of the Moravians, by whose missionaries they had been brought to the profession of the christian religion with them, and lived soberly and peaceably on the fruit of their own labour and industry.

Other friendly Indians are removed to Philadelphia for protection.

From

From the intelligence received from time to time of the design of the rioters to destroy these Indians in the barracks, it was resolved by government to remove them, first to the Province-island, as a place of greater safety; and afterwards to convey them out of the province, and commit them to the immediate care of Sir William Johnson, the king's agent for Indian affairs; and the general at New York. They were accordingly sent through the province of New Jersey as far as Amboy; but the governor of New York refusing them admittance into his province, they were soon after ordered to return to Philadelphia, and general Gage sending a number of soldiers for their protection on their return, they were lodged in the barracks under a guard.

The rioters enraged at their disappointment, as soon as they heard of the return of the Indians, of which they received early intelligence from their accomplices in the city, assembled again in numbers. Accounts were received of their proceedings, and breathing out threatenings of executing their barbarous intentions, not only against the Indians, but all that defended them, and particularly against some concerned in government, as well as sundry private persons.

On the 4th of the month, called February, 1764, the governor receiving information that the rioters were on their march towards the city, called the inhabitants together to consult them upon such measures as he thought advisable for preventing the intended mischief; numbers shewed more readiness than was expected to support his authority, and to oppose such a daring

Governor
consults
with the
inhabi-
tants.

CHAP. daring insult offered to the government. About
II.
1764 midnight succeeding the following day, fresh
advice was received of their near approach,
and precautions being taken to prevent their
passing the ferries over the river, and a very
heavy rain having raised the fords, retarded
their march. They came down to Germantown,
Rioters about six miles from Philadelphia, from whence
come with-
in six miles
of Phila-
delphia.
they sent their spies into the city, to observe
the conduct and preparations of the govern-
ment against them; and by their intelligence
finding they were likely to meet with a very
different reception from that which they had
experienced at Lancaster, they thought it safest
to halt there, and return home without effect-
ing their purpose. Possibly this account of these
murders and riots may appear foreign to our
subject, and thus far it is so; but the people
called Quakers, although they were of a very
contrary disposition, and could have no concern in
such actions, yet they were very causelessly in-
volved in the consequences. When the rioters
came to Germantown, and found themselves
frustrated in their designs, they dropped their
menaces of destroying the Indians, and be-
gan to complain of grievances. A paper un-
signed had been delivered to the governor, as
from the rioters on their march, though it was
doubted whether many of them were acquainted
with the contents, and whether it was not ra-
ther the composition of some of their abettors.

Governor On the 7th of the month some persons by the
sends some governor's authority, went to meet them, and
persons to inquire into the reason of their tumultuous ap-
meet them.pearance. It appeared in the conference held
with them, that these people were much de-
luded

luded through invidious misrepresentations, C H A P. which had raised their prejudice against the II.
conduct of the government. In fine, their leaders engaged they should return home, two of them being agreed upon to represent the rest, in order to lay the grievances they pretended they were under before the governor, and the assembly then fitting.

A declaration of their intentions, I suppose, and a remonstrance of their grievances were presented to the legislature; and the meeting for sufferings at Philadelphia receiving information that the said declaration and remonstrance contained groundless reflections on the Quakers as a society, they applied to the governor, requesting a copy of each, which he readily granted; whereupon they agreed upon an address in answer thereto, which they presented to the governor as follows.

To John Penn, Esq. Lieutenant Governor of
the Province of Pennsylvania.

The Address of the People called Quakers
in the said Province.

May it please the Governor,

" We acknowledge thy kind reception of our application for copies of the two papers presented to thee by some of the frontier inhabitants of this province, on the 6th and 13th instant, which we have perused and considered, and find several parts thereof are evidently intended to render us odious to our superiors,

" Address of the people called Quakers to the governor.

CHAP. " riors, and to keep up a tumultuous spirit
" among the inconsiderate part of the people.

1764. " We therefore request thy favourable attention to some observations which we apprehend necessary to offer, to assert our innocence of the false charges, and unjust insinuations, thus invidiously propagated against us.

" Our religious society hath been well known through the British dominions above an hundred years, and was never concerned in promoting or countenancing any plots or insurrections against the government; but on the contrary, when ambitious men, thirsting for power, have embroiled the state in intestine commotions and bloodshed, subverting the order of government; our forefathers, by their public declarations, and peaceable conduct, manifested their abhorrence of such traitorous proceedings; and notwithstanding they were often subjected to gross abuses in their characters and persons, and cruel imprisonments, persecutions, and some of them to the loss of their lives, through the instigation of wicked and unreasonable men, they steadily maintained their profession, and acted agreeable to the principles of the true disciples of Christ; and by their innocent peaceable conduct, having approved themselves faithful and loyal subjects, they obtained the favour of the government, and were by royal authority entrusted with many valuable rights and privileges, to be enjoyed by them and their successors, with the property they purchased in the soil of this province; which induced them to remove from their native

“ native land, with some of their neighbours of C H A P.
“ other religious societies, and at their own ex- II.
“ pense, without any charge to the public, to 1764.
“ encounter the difficulties of improving a wil-
“ derness, in which the blessings of divine pro-
“ vidence attended their endeavours beyond
“ all human expectation; and from the first
“ settling of the province, till within a few
“ years past, both the framing and administra-
“ tion of the laws were committed chiefly to
“ men of our religious principles, under whom
“ tranquillity and peace were preserved among
“ the inhabitants, and with the natives. The
“ land rejoiced, and every man was protected
“ in his person and property, and in the full
“ enjoyment of religious and civil liberty; but
“ with grief and sorrow, for some years past,
“ we have observed the circumstances of the
“ province to be much changed, and that
“ intestine animosities, and the desolating
“ calamities of war, have taken place of tran-
“ quillity and peace.

“ We have, as a religious society, ever care-
“ fully avoided admitting matters immediately
“ relating to civil government into our delibe-
“ rations, farther than to excite and engage
“ each other to demean ourselves as dutiful sub-
“ jects to the king, with due respect to those in
“ authority under him, and to live agreeable to
“ the religious principles we profess, and to the
“ uniform example of our ancestors, and to
“ this end meetings were instituted, and are
“ still maintained, in which our care and con-
“ cern are manifested to preserve that discip-
“ line and good order among us, which tend
“ only to the promotion of piety and virtue;
“ yet

CHAP. " yet as members of civil society, services some-
" ll. " times occur which we do not judge expedi-
1764. " ent to become the subject of the consider-
" ration of our religious meetings, and of this
" nature is the association formed by a number
" of persons in religious profession with us, of
" which on this occasion it seems incumbent on
" us to give some account to the governor, as
" their conduct is misrepresented, in order to
" calumniate and reproach us as a religious
" society, by the insinuations and flanders in
" the papers sent to the governor, and particu-
" larly in the unsigned declaration, on behalf
" of a number of armed men, on the sixth in-
" stant, then approaching the city, from distant
" parts of the province, to the disturbance of
" the public peace.

" In the spring of the year 1756, the distress
" of the province being very great, and the de-
" solating calamities of a general Indian war
" apprehended, at the instance of the provin-
" cial interpreter Conrad Weiser, and with the
" approbation of governor Morris, some of us
" essayed to promote a reconciliation with the
" Indians and their endeavours being blessed
" with success, the happy effects thereof were
" soon manifest, and a real concern for the
" then deplorable situation of our fellow sub-
" jects on the frontiers prevailing, in order that
" they might be capable of rendering some ef-
" fectual service; they freely contributed con-
" siderable sums of money, and engaged others
" in like manner to contribute, so that about
" 5000*l.* was raised, in order to be employed
" for the service of the public, and chief part
" thereof hath been since expended in presents
" given

“ given at the public treaties (where they C H A P.
“ were sometimes delivered by the governors II.
“ of this province, and at other times with
“ their privity and permission) for promoting
“ the salutary measures of regaining and con-
“ firming peace with the Indians, and procuring
“ the release of our countrymen in captivity;
“ and thereby a considerable number have been
“ restored to their friends; and we find that
“ the measures thus pursued being made known
“ to the king's generals, who from time to
“ time were here, and having been communi-
“ cated by an address sent to the proprietaries of
“ this province in England, appear, by their
“ written answers, and other testimonials, to
“ have received their countenance and appro-
“ bation. This being the case, and the con-
“ duct of those concerned in these affairs, evi-
“ dently contrary to the intent and tendency of
“ the assertion contained in the said unsigned
“ declaration, pretended to be founded on the
“ records of the county of Berks, we do not
“ apprehend it necessary to say any more
“ thereon, than that we are (after proper en-
“ quiry) assured, that nothing of that kind is to
“ be found on those records, and that the pri-
“ vate minute made by Conrad Weiser, of a re-
“ port he had received from two Indians, of a
“ story they had heard from another Indian,
“ pretending to be a messenger from the Ohio,
“ does not mention any person whatever, nor
“ contain the charges expressed in the decla-
“ ration, and from the enquiry we have made,
“ we find them groundless and unjust, and
“ uttered with a view to amuse and inflame

CHAP. " the credulous, and to vilify and calumni-
II. " ate us.

1764. " The invidious reflection against " a sect
" that have got the political reins in their
" hands, and tamely tyrannize over the good
" people of this province;" though evidently
" levelled against us, manifests the authors of
" of these papers are egregiously ignorant of
" our conduct, or wilfully bent on misrepresent-
" ing us; it being known that as a religious
" body, we have by public advices, and private
" admonitions, laboured with, and earnestly de-
" fired, our brethren, who have been elected
" or appointed to public offices in the govern-
" ment for some years past, to decline taking
" upon them a task become so arduous, under
" our late and present circumstances; and that
" many have concurred with us in this resoluti-
" on is evident, by divers having voluntarily
" resigned their seats in the house of assembly,
" and by others having, by public advertise-
" ments signified their declining the service,
" and requesting their countrymen to choose
" others in their places, and that many have
" refused to accept of places in the executive
" part of the government. We are not con-
" scious that as Englishmen and dutiful subjects,
" we have ever forfeited our right of electing
" or being elected; but because we could serve
" no longer in those stations with satisfaction to
" ourselves, many of us have chosen to forbear
" the exercise of these rights, and wish a dispo-
" sition of a contrary nature was not so manifest
" in our adversaries.

" The accusation of our having been profuse
" to savages, and carefully avoiding to contri-
" bute

“ bute to the relief and support of the distressed families on the frontiers, who have abandoned their possessions, and fled for their lives, is equally invidious and mistaken; we very early and expeditioufly promoted a subscription, and contributed to the relief of the distresses of those who were plundered, and fled from their habitations in the beginning of the Indian war, which was distributed among them, in provisions and cloathing, and afforded a seafonable relief. Divers among us, in the city of Philadelphia, also contributed with others the last summer, and we are well assured that money was raised, and sent up by the members of our society in different parts of the country; and as soon as we were informed, that the greatest part of what had been voluntarily raised by the citizens of Philadelphia was nearly expended, a subscription was set on foot, to which several very generously contributed, and a large sum might soon have been raised, and was stopped only on account of the tumult which hath lately happened; and it hath been from our regard to our fellow subjects on the frontiers, and sympathy with their afflicting distresses, and a concern for the general welfare of the province, that engaged our brethren to raise the money they applied to promote a pacification with the natives, and no separate views of interest to ourselves; but thus unhappily our most upright and disinterested intentions are misconstrued and perverted, to impose on the weak, and answer the pernicious schemes of the enemies of peace.

CHAP.
II.
1764.

CHAP. II. " The eighth paragraph of the second paper,
1764 " called the remonstrance, being chiefly answer-
" ed by the foregoing observations, it may be
" necessary only to observe, on the malicious
" charge of " abetting the Indian enemies, and
" keeping up a private intelligence with them,"
" which we can assure the governor is altogether
" false and groundless, and we do not know of
" any member of our society chargeable there-
" with; the transaction relating to the string
" (which they have called a belt of wampum)
" we find by letters from general Forbes, and
" other papers produced to us, was in conse-
" quence of a message sent by the king's deputy
" agent to the Indians on the Ohio, in the name
" of Sir William Johnson, their brother Onas,
" and the descendants of the first settlers who
" came over with their antient brother William
" Penn; as also of Frederick Post's being en-
" gaged by some members of our community
" to go on another message to these Indians,
" by the express orders of that general, who
" then commanded the king's army, and with
" the concurrence of the governor of this pro-
" vince; but we do not approve or think it al-
" lowable for any private subject to carry on a
" correspondence, or treat with the enemies of the
" king and government, nor to engage in the
" transaction of any affairs of the government,
" without the privity and consent of those in
" authority over us.

" We desire the governor to excuse our tak-
" ing this opportunity of exculpating ourselves
" from another false accusation, industriously
" propagated, with a design to reproach us as
" a society; it having been reported, during
the

“ the late commotion in this city, that some c H A P.
“ persons of our community had in the evening II.
“ of the 6th instant, removed, from or near the
“ barracks, six Indians, to an island in the river,
“ nearly opposite the city, with a design to con-
“ ceal them, and evade their being seen and
“ examined by some of the people from the
“ frontiers, and that an ex parte deposition of
“ an apprentice boy was taken to that purpose;
“ upon hearing which, some of us immediately
“ requested to have the said boy and his master
“ carefully examined before the mayor; in con-
“ sequence thereof, both of them were enjoined
“ and required by the recorder, and one of
“ the aldermen, to appear before the mayor, in
“ the morning of the 11th instant, at 11
“ o'clock, but it appeared from the testimony
“ of his master, that before the time appointed
“ the boy absconded, and after diligent search
“ is not since found. Wherefore the mayor,
“ after the examination of the military officers
“ (to whose care the Indians had been commit-
“ ted) and of other witnesses relating to the
“ matter, upon consideration thereof, and the
“ circumstances attending the relation; first
“ the alderman, before whom the deposition
“ had been made, and afterwards the mayor
“ publicly declared, they were convinced the
“ accusation was utterly false and groundless.

“ It would be a tedious task for us to under-
“ take to answer all the slanderous reports and
“ misrepresentations, which have been spread,
“ with a design to prejudice our characters,
“ through the malice of some, and the igno-
“ rance of others; but having the testimony of

“ our

C H A P. " our consciences to recur to for our innocence,
 II. " we hope through divine assistance, we shall
 1764. " be enabled to bear reproaches; and, by the
 " uprightness of our conduct, shew forth to the
 " world, that we live in the fear of God, and
 " pay the just returns of dutiful submission to
 " the king, for the continuance of his paternal
 " tenderness towards us; and that we are, as
 " we have ever been, real friends to the
 " government, and steadily desirous of acting
 " agreeable to our stations, as members of
 " civil society.

" Signed on behalf, and by order of a com-
 mittee appointed to represent our religious
 society in Pensylvania and New Jersey, at a
 meeting held in Philadelphia, the 25th of
 second month, 1764."

SAMUEL EMLÉN, junior, Clerk.

The frontiers were mostly inhabited by emigrants from the north of Ireland and their descendants, and Germans; the latter, though solicited, to their reputation, refused to join with, or have any concern in these iniquitous and tumultuous proceedings.

And, as the disposition and behaviour of the people called Quakers towards the Indians had been as to all others (and contrary to theirs) regulated by a strict regard to equity, morality and that religion that dictates peace on earth, and good will to men; the rioters looking upon it in an invidious light, and as reproaching their own too general vindictive temper and conduct, they

they went beyond all bounds of justice and truth in most abusive representations of that people, to whom and their predecessors and principles, Pennsylvania was principally indebted for its prosperity and population: all their conduct, public and private, was misconstrued with the usual injustice of party rage.*

Soon after writing the foregoing, the author was seized with a fit of apoplexy, which in a few hours ended in his decease.—He attained to 70 years, and had been engaged during the last eight years of his life in writing this history.

A Testimony from Lisburn Men's Meeting, concerning our deceased friend JOHN GOUGH, read and approved in the Quarterly-Meeting for Ulster, held at Moyallon the 18th of 2d Month, and in the National Half-year's Meeting in Dublin, 5th Month, 1792.

He was born at Kendal in Westmoreland, in the beginning of the year 1721, of parents professing the truth, as held by us, the people called

* Nothing has been added to the copy left written by my father, except a few of the biographical accounts of deceased friends, which he had proposed to be inserted. He intended to have concluded the work in this fourth volume, but from the number of original papers yet remaining, it seems impracticable. Those papers are now in my possession, and shall be carefully preserved, till some friend may see it his business to finish it in a fifth volume.

Lisburn in Ireland, 5th
of sixth mo. 1792.

JOHN GOUGH, Junior.

CHAP.
II.

called Quakers, and by the information we have received concerning him, we find that 1791. from his youth he was much inclined to seriousness and thoughtfulness, being early made acquainted with the teachings of divine grace in his heart, and measurably attending thereto, he became an example of plainness, frugality and sobriety, in his apparel and conduct, and was thereby preserved from the evils and condemnable practices, into which too many of our youth by pursuing a contrary conduct, have unhappily fallen.

Having received an education suitable to qualify him for a schoolmaster, and being endowed with good natural parts, he was employed about the fifteenth year of his age as usher in a friend's school, at Pickwick in Wiltshire, in which station he continued four years, and then resigning his place, he removed into this kingdom.

In the year 1750, he settled in Dublin, where he remained about twenty four years, following the occupation of a schoolmaster. During his residence in that city, he approved himself a valuable member of society, having experienced through the sanctifying operation of the spirit of truth, a gradual advancement in the work of righteousness, as he grew in years, growing in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, he was thereby fitted for service, and being appointed to the office of an elder in the church, pretty shortly after his settlement there, he was found truly serviceable in his station amongst his brethren.

In

In the year 1774, he was induced by an apprehension of duty to remove into this neighbourhood, and undertook the care of a boarding school, about which period he was called forth into the more public work of the ministry, and approved himself in the exercise of his gift as an able minister, speaking the things that became sound doctrine, labouring abundantly in the fresh flowings forth of gospel love, for the exaltation of truth and the edification of the body. In the course of his ministerial labours, he visited the province of Munster and sundry parts of Leinster, and once, viz. in the year 1785, several counties in England, he also sundry times attended the yearly meeting in London, and on all these occasions we have reason to believe his company and services were truly acceptable to friends.

In transacting the affairs of the church, he was eminently skilful and of extensive use in the society, particularly by his assistance therein at the time of our national assemblies, being favoured with a sound judgment, quick conception and a right understanding of the letter and spirit of our discipline, with the capacity of expressing his thoughts in a clear, concise and convincing manner. He was often instrumental by his judicious and seasonable remarks, in cases of difficulty, where friends were divided in judgment, in reconciling their different sentiments, to the preservation of harmony and concord; yet was he careful not to press his opinion above measure, thereby manifesting his regard to the promotion of good order in the church of Christ, in

CHAP. in observance of the apostle's injunction to
II. his son Timothy, that the servant of the Lord
1791. must not strive, but be gentle unto all men,
apt to teach, patient, in meekness instructing
those that oppose themselves. He also shewed
a good example of brotherly condescension
in giving up to the necessary service and ap-
pointments of the meeting, at the request of
his brethren.

He was of a sober, circumspect life and conversation, as becometh the gospel of Christ; plain and humble in his appearance, and grave in deportment, shewing himself a pattern of good works, in doctrine shewing uncorruptness, gravity, sincerity. And although it may be said, that in public testimony, he was for the most part drawn forth in a close line of doctrine, from a weighty sense of the deep revolting and departure in heart of many of the professors of the blessed truth, in the present day, from the holy law and government of the Prince of peace, yet at other seasons, particularly in more select opportunities, he was experienced to be as a nursing father to the children of the family, a tender instructor in the way to the kingdom, and an encourager of the honest-hearted therein.

And if we consider him in the more contracted circle of private life, he was a kind and affectionate neighbour, full of tenderness and compassion, feeling in much sympathy for the trials and sufferings of his friends, whom he neglected not to visit, and to commiserate in their distress as opportunity offered

ferred, to cheer the drooping heart and to administer consolation to the afflicted.

He was a diligent attender of meetings for worship and discipline at home and abroad, being scarcely ever absent from our general province quarterly and national meetings, he likewise frequently visited the smaller meetings, and the adjacent meetings of discipline, as also the families of friends in different parts of this province, to good satisfaction, being often therein much favoured to speak applicably to the several states of the visited. And when released from services of this nature abroad, he was careful not to be slothful in business at home, being closely employed for several years during the latter stage of his life, in the weighty and arduous undertaking of compiling a general history of our society, three volumes of which have been lately published, and the remaining one brought very nearly to a conclusion; of this work as it is already well known and pretty generally in friends hands, it does not appear needful for us to say much, further than to express our hope that it may be as a memorial to many, of those useful talents where-with he was gifted, and of his application of them, under the influence of divine aid, with diligence and devotedness of heart, to the cause and service of truth in his generation.

About a year before his death, he was attacked with a sudden stroke of the paralytic kind, which gave much cause of apprehension to his family and friends, that the time

of

CHAP. of his departure was at hand; from which
II.
1791. however he so far recovered as to undertake the performance of a religious visit to some meetings in the province of Leinster, and to join with sundry friends, nominated by our national meeting, in visiting the meetings of discipline in Munster, and he was furnished with strength and ability to accomplish the service and to return to his family in peace.

He was at times concerned in public supplication in our assemblies, on which occasions he appeared weighty and fervent in spirit, as one deeply impressed with a reverent sense of the solemnity of the engagement, and a few weeks previous to his death, being engaged on this wise, after interceding for the general state of the church, he was led by a remarkable transition, as if favoured with a sense of his approaching dissolution, to supplicate on his own behalf, that he might be more and more purified and fitted for his final change, that when the angel of the divine presence should be sent to his habitation with the solemn message that time should be to him no longer, he might be admitted to join the hundred and forty four thousand who were redeemed from the earth, in singing praises to the lamb. And as our dear friend continued a zealous and diligent labourer in the vineyard until the conclusion of his days, being willing to spend and to be spent, that so he might finish the work allotted to him therein, as a good and faithful servant; we doubt not but he is now a partaker

partaker of the blessed recompence of reward C H A P.
in the joy of his Lord. II.

On the 25th day of the tenth month, 1791.
1791, being suddenly seized with another fit,
which in a few hours put a period to his
existence in this state of mutability, he quietly
departed as one falling asleep and on the
28th he was decently interred in friends
burying ground at Lisburn after a solemn
meeting.

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